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CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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ETERNAL GLORY TO SOONG CHING LING, OUR COUNTRY'S PATRIOTIC, DEMOCRATIC,
INTERNATIONALIST AND COMMUNIST GREAT FIGHTER, OUTSTANDING STATE LEADER

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 2-4

[Memorial speech by Comrade Deng Xiaoping at memorial service for Comrade Soong Ching Ling--3 June 1981]

[Text] With deep grief, we pay tribute today to the memory of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, one of the founders of the People's Republic of China, honorary president of the People's Republic of China, a leader whom the people of all nationalities in China, including Taiwan compatriots and Overseas Chinese, love and respect from the bottom of their hearts, a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter known throughout the world, a long-tested vanguard in defense of world peace, and an outstanding member of the Communist Party of China.

Despite all treatment, Comrade Soong Ching Ling died of chronic lymphocytic leukemia at 2018 hours on 29 May 1981, in Beijing at the age of 90.

A native of Wenchang County, Guangdong Province, Comrade Soong Ching Ling from her early years followed the great revolutionary, Dr Sun Yat-sen, and devoted herself to the cause of the democratic revolution. In 1913 she became Dr Sun Yat-sen's secretary, taking charge of his vast correspondence including confidential letters from China and abroad, and other day-to-day work. She married Dr Sun Yat-sen in 1915. She was firm, loyal, prudent and modest, and always remained Dr Sun's close comrade-in-arms and able assistant. In May 1921, Dr Sun Yat-sen took office as the extraordinary president of the Republic of China. In June the following year, Chen Jiongming turned against the revolution and bombarded the presidential mansion. His rebel forces pressed on and the situation became critical. Comrade Soong Ching Ling refused to leave the mansion before others. She said to Dr Sun: "China can do without me, but cannot do without you." She insisted that Dr Sun be evacuated from the danger area before her. Then escorted by guards, she broke through the battle lines. As a result, her health was irreparably impaired. This heroic action is but one indication of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's staunch will, and outstanding courage that underscored her dedication to the cause of revolution.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling did a great deal of active and practical work during Dr Sun Yat-sen's consultations with representatives of the Communist Party of

China on matters of cooperation and in his discussions with envoys sent by Lenin. She firmly supported the three people's principles, of which Dr Sun Yat-sen made a new interpretation in the "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China," namely, the new three people's principles of alliance with Russia, alliance with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. In order to solve the problems of the unification and construction of China, Dr Sun Yat-sen, despite grave dangers and against all advice to the contrary, traveled to north China in November 1924. Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied him with great resolution. Dr Sun Yat-sen died of illness in Beijing on 12 March 1925. It was Comrade Soong Ching Ling who publicized Dr Sun Yat-sen's testament to China and the world. Shortly afterwards, speaking with the force of justice, she denounced the right wing of the Kuomintang and plunged into the work of preparing for the northern expedition.

During the second national congress of the Kuomintang in January 1926, Comrade Soong Ching Ling resolutely implemented Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies, worked in close cooperation with the Chinese communists, and struggled against the right wing of the Kuomintang. After the 12 April 1927 counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai, Comrade Soong Ching Ling and many Kuomintang left wingers as well as the Chinese communists Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Yun Daiying, Lin Boqu and Wu Yuzhang issued a joint message in denunciation of Chiang Kai-shek. On the eve of the open betrayal of the revolution by the Wang Jingwei government in Wuhan, she again issued a "statement in protest against the violation of Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles and policies," declaring that she would sever all relations with those who were renegades to the cause of Dr Sun Yat-sen. On 1 August, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, Comrade Mao Zedong and 20 others issued a declaration in the name of Central Committee members of the Kuomintang, solemnly exposing the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei. On the day of the Nanching Uprising, a revolutionary committee composed of Zhou Enlai and 24 others was formed and, though Comrade Soong Ching Ling was not in Nanchang at the time, she was elected to the seven-member presidium of the Revolutionary Committee. In August 1927, she made a long and arduous journey to the Soviet Union to seek the road to victory for the Chinese revolution.

During the first 2 years of the 10-year civil war, Comrade Soong Ching Ling participated in a series of important international anti-imperialist activities in the Soviet Union and France and, in 1929, she was elected honorary chairman of the second congress of the anti-imperialist league. She subsequently became one of the principal leaders of the world anti-fascist movement.

After Comrade Soong Ching Ling returned to China, she gave wholehearted support to the political stand of the Chinese Communist Party and resolutely rejected any post offered to her on the Central Committee of the Kuomintang and in the government. This action served to defy the KMT threats and lures. She time and again stated her profound yearning for the cause of socialism. She solemnly pointed out in an article she wrote in 1931 that the Kuomintang had long since betrayed its revolutionary policies and that its various factions, backed by warlords, were all trying to curry favor with the imperialists, and were slaughtering the Chinese masses. "Only a revolution based on the masses and serving them can smash the power of the warlords and politicians, shake off the yoke of

imperialism and realize socialism." In the 1930's, when she was engaged in revolutionary activities in Shanghai, she established a profound revolutionary friendship with the great communist Lu Xun. Together with Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei, Yang Xingfo and others, she organized the China League for Human Rights, and waged sharp struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries, protecting and rescuing a large number of Chinese Communist Party members and patriotic democrats who opposed Chiang Kai-shek. Thus she made important and unique contributions to the cause of revolution.

After the "September 18" incident in 1931, Japanese troops invaded and occupied China's three northeastern provinces and the KMT government pursued a policy of non-resistance. In 1934, the Chinese Communist Party set forth a "six-point program for resisting Japan and saving the nation" which was promulgated over the signatures of Comrade Soong Ching Ling and others. On 1 August 1935, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued the "1 August declaration" which called on the people of the whole country to work together as one to stop the civil war and resist Japanese aggression. Comrade Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi, Jing Hengyi, Chen Shuren as well as Yu Youren, Sun Fo and others were the first to respond. And their response produced a tremendous public impact. During the war of resistance to Japan, Comrade Soong Ching Ling refused to be confined to the same place as the Kuomintang government and instead went to Guangzhou and Hong Kong where she founded the "China Defense League" for collecting donations from prominent foreigners and Overseas Chinese sympathetic to China's war of resistance to Japan. She unremittently supported the anti-Japanese struggles led by the Chinese Communist Party and exposed the reactionary Kuomintang policies of compromise with and capitulation to Japan and opposition to the Communist Party and the Chinese people. The Kuomintang government therefore exerted pressure on Comrade Soong Ching Ling through foreign forces, but the allegations used as pressure against her were refuted by her and by Comrade Chen Hansheng who was working with her at the time. After the southern Anhui incident in 1941, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazi and Peng Zemin came out boldly to denounce the Kuomintang's pernicious acts. Comrade Soong Ching Ling arrived in Chongqing in December 1941. She managed to meet or maintain contact with George Hatem, Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Rewi Alley and other foreign friends who were sympathetic to the revolutionary cause of the Chinese people and they worked closely with her, making important contributions to the Chinese people's cause of resistance to Japanese aggression.

After the victory of the war of resistance, Comrade Soong Ching Ling founded the China Welfare Fund in Shanghai and, under very trying conditions, provided concrete assistance to the working masses. During the war of liberation she rendered great material help to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army under its leadership.

After Beijing was liberated, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was delighted to accept the invitation from the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party addressed to her to participate in the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference and she made the trip north. When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was elected vice-chairman of the central people's government. She was elected vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress in 1954, and vice-chairman of the

People's Republic of China in 1959 and again in 1965; and elected again vice-chairman of the Standing Committee of the NPC in 1974. As an important state leader for the past 32 years, she was involved in numerous state activities in the cause of China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. Comrade Soong Ching Ling made highly successful visits to the Soviet Union, India, Burma, Pakistan, Indonesia and Sri Lanka. In 1957, Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied Comrade Mao Zedong and participated in the Moscow meeting of representatives of the Communist and workers parties. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and other comrades often exchanged views with her on major international and domestic issues and, during the long period in which they collaborated, they confided in each other, and forged a profound and comradely friendship. Comrade Soong Ching Ling always paid attention to women's work in new China, devotedly watching over the health and education of children and young people. For many years she presided over the work of the People's Relief Administration and the Red Cross Society of China. Comrade Soong Ching Ling was an outstanding leader of Chinese women and an affectionate grandmother to the children of China. She always showed great solicitude for old friends and acquaintances who had been followers of Dr Sun Yat-sen in their early years, and deep concern for the future of Taiwan. She ardently hoped that peace talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would be conducted at an early date so as to accomplish the great cause of the reunification of the motherland, to which she made invaluable contributions.

In recent years, Comrade Soong Ching Ling was gladdened by our party's successive smashing of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and staunchly supported the series of principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. She was full of enthusiasm for the socialist modernization of the motherland to which she devoted all her energy and strength in her later years. She ardently hoped for the growing prosperity of the motherland which has entered into the era of socialism after realizing Dr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary ideal of the three people's principles. Comrade Soong Ching Ling made brilliant contributions to the cause of China's revolution and construction and won the heartfelt respect and love of the people of all nationalities in the country.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling was elected a member of the World Peace Council in 1950 and chairman of the Peace Liaison Committee of the Asian and Pacific regions in 1952. In the international sphere, she conducted courageous and fruitful struggles to oppose wars of aggression, defend world peace, advance progressive culture, strive for social progress and the well-being of mankind and promote understanding and friendly exchange among the people of all countries. She enjoyed the wide esteem of people of all strata in China and other countries, and was acknowledged internationally as the great woman of the 20th century.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling spared no effort in performing her duties and, for the past 70 years, devoted all her energies and strength to the people's democratic and socialist cause of China, to world peace and the cause of world progress. Under all circumstances, she retained her unyielding revolutionary principles, and was neither intimidated by force, nor subdued by wealth or rank. Her noble spirit and integrity will be remembered throughout history. What we treasure most is the fact that Soong Ching Ling kept up with the pace of history and

starting as a great revolutionary democrat she became a great communist. The Communist Party of China and its leaders Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Liu Shaoqi and other comrades had long accepted her as a close comrade-in-arms, a comrade and a respected proletarian vanguard fighter. Shortly before her death, she was accepted as a full member of the Communist Party of China, and her long cherished wish was thus fulfilled. This was an honor for Comrade Soong Ching Ling and also an honor for the Communist Party of China. Comrade Soong Ching Ling will always live in the hearts of the Chinese people and in the hearts of the Chinese communists.

In mourning Comrade Soong Ching Ling, we will turn grief into strength and, rallying still more closely around the Central Committee of the party, work hard to accomplish the great sacred cause of the reunification of the motherland and build China into a modern, powerful, socialist country with a high degree of democracy and civilization!

Eternal glory to Comrade Soong Ching Ling!

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THE GREAT AND GLORIOUS LIFE OF COMRADE SOONG CHING LING

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 5-10

[XINHUA 30 May report]

[Text] Soong Ching Ling, honorary president of the People's Republic of China and vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, who died yesterday, was known throughout the world as a great patriotic, democratic, internationalist and communist fighter.

While her family came from Wenchang County, Hainan Island, Guangdong Province, Soong Ching Ling herself was born on 27 January 1893 in Shanghai. She was considered to be 90 years old according to the traditional Chinese practice.

Soong Ching Ling received her early education at the McTyeire School for Girls in Shanghai. She went to the United States in 1908 at the age of 15 and entered Wesleyan College for Women in Macon, Georgia, where she received a bachelor of arts degree in 1913. The year she graduated she wrote an article for the college journal entitled "The Greatest Event of the Twentieth Century," hailing the victory of China's 1911 revolution. Soon after she returned to China in 1913, she became the secretary of Dr Sun Yat-sen, the great forerunner of the Chinese revolution, and started her revolutionary career.

On 25 October 1915, she married Dr Sun Yat-sen. In the following years she accompanied Dr Sun in traveling between Shanghai and Guangzhou, rendering service to the revolution. During the May 4 movement of 1919, she worked hard to help rescue the arrested Beijing students. In May 1921, Dr Sun Yat-sen took office as the extraordinary president of the Republic of China. On the early morning of 16 June 1922, warlord Chen Jiongming turned against the revolution, and surrounded and bombarded the president's office. Soong Ching Ling insisted that Dr Sun Yat-sen leave immediately. But she did not leave the office until 0800 the same morning, escorted by two bodyguards and an aide-de-camp who broke through the encirclement. She escaped danger the following evening, when she was in a state of exhaustion, her health seriously impaired.

In August 1922, Sun Yat-sen disembarked from a warship at Shanghai and began a major overhaul of the Kuomintang leadership. Soong Ching Ling did a lot of effective work in the consultations on cooperation which took place between Dr Sun Yat-sen and the representatives of the Chinese Communist Party and during his conversations with the special envoys sent by Lenin.

In 1923, troops loyal to Sun Yat-sen drove Chen Jiongming out of Guangzhou, and Sun Yat-sen and Soong Ching Ling returned to that city, when they continued the work of overhauling the Kuomintang.

The Kuomintang held its first national congress in 1924. Soong Ching Ling firmly supported the new explanation in the manifesto of the congress in which the three great policies of alliance with Soviet Russia, cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers, were included in the three people's principles, which henceforth became known as the new three people's principles.

In November 1924, Soong Ching Ling accompanied Sun Yat-sen in going north to Beijing, at the invitation of military and political leaders there, to solve the problems of China's reunification and construction. Sun Yat-sen died on 12 March 1925, in Beijing. It was Soong Ching Ling who made known to China and the world Dr Sun Yat-sen's political will. After his death, she dedicated herself to the great revolution of the Chinese people.

After the "May 30" massacre in 1925, with great indignation she issued this statement to a reporter of Shanghai's MINGUO RIBAO: "This tragedy, to put it concisely, was the first time in Shanghai that the Chinese people were able to unite to resist the atrocities committed by the British police station as part of the suppression by the British and Japanese powers of the Chinese people's revolutionary spirit.... All Chinese people are charged with the important task of saving the country."

During the second national congress of the Kuomintang in January 1926, Soong Ching Ling resolutely upheld Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies and worked in close cooperation with the Communist Party to carry on the struggle against the right wing of the Kuomintang. At this congress, she was elected a member of the Kuomintang Executive Committee. In November of the same year, the Northern Expedition Army captured Wuhan. The national government prepared to move to that city, and Soong Ching Ling together with an advance party arrived in Wuhan. On 13 December in Wuhan, the members of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee and the members of the national government council held a meeting, at which it was decided to form a joint committee, and Soong Ching Ling became a member of this committee. During the first 6 months of 1927, Soong Ching Ling ran a women's institute of political training in Hankou, Hubei Province. When Chiang Kai-shek, leader of the Kuomintang right wing, launched a counterrevolutionary coup in Shanghai on 12 April of that year, Soong Ching Ling and many Kuomintang left-wingers as well as Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu and other Chinese communists issued an open message denouncing Chiang Kai-shek. On 14 July 1927, on the eve of the open betrayal of the revolution by the Kuomintang government in Wuhan headed by Wang Ching-wei, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement, stating: "Some members of the Executive Committee of the Kuomintang are doing violence to Sun Yat-sen's ideas and ideals." She continued with supreme confidence in spite of the serious crisis in the revolution: "Sun Yat-sen's three people's principles will eventually succeed, the revolution in China is inevitable." She also said, "There is no despair in my heart for the revolution. My disheartenment is only for the path into which some of those who had been leading the revolution have strayed."

On 1 August 1927, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, Comrade Mao Zedong and 20 other persons issued a declaration to expose the betrayal of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. She supported the Nanchang Armed Uprising launched by the Chinese Communist Party on the same day. A revolutionary committee composed of Zhou Enlai and 24 others elected Soong Ching Ling to a seven-member presidium. Soong Ching Ling left for Moscow in late August to seek the road for the Chinese revolution. Upon her departure she issued a public statement, again expounding Sun Yat-sen's three great policies. She said: "The reactionary forces led by the fake leaders of the Kuomintang who have betrayed the revolution endanger the three great policies"; "they are bound to fail, as they are taking the road of those who attempted to rule the people in the same way." She returned to China by way of Berlin in May 1929 to attend the state funeral of Sun Yat-sen in Nanjing. On the eve of her return to China, she issued a statement saying: "I cannot participate directly or indirectly in the work of the Kuomintang until its policy is in complete conformity with the basic principles of the late Dr Sun Yat-sen."

During her stay in the Soviet Union and Europe from 1927 to 1929 and 1930 to 1931, she took an active part in the international movement against imperialism and in defense of peace. Soong Ching Ling was elected honorary chairman at two conferences of the Anti-Imperialist League held in Belgium, December 1927, and in Germany, August 1929. She subsequently became one of the principal leaders of the world anti-fascist movement.

After returning to China in 1931, she enthusiastically supported the Communist Party's proposal to end the civil war and form a national anti-Japanese united front. In an article published 19 December 1931, in Shanghai, she exposed the reactionary nature and the capitulationist activities of Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government. She wrote: "Only a revolution based on the masses and serving them can smash the power of the warlords and politicians, shake off the yoke of imperialism and realize socialism."

On 28 January 1932, the Japanese militarists invaded Shanghai and the 19th Route Army counterattacked, thus sparking the "January 28" incident. With the help of Yang Xingfo, Soong Ching Ling raised money and, borrowing buildings from Jiaotong University, set up a 300-bed hospital in Shanghai for wounded soldiers. In reply to a reporter's question, she said: "With regard to the war of resistance against Japan," I "advocate vigorous resistance to the end." "Mankind exists only through struggle, and revolutionaries can only be concerned about right and wrong and not about present dangers. The 19th Route Army is fully aware that there is a great disparity in numerical strength between it and the enemy and that its weapons and financial resources are inferior to those of the enemy, but, in spite of everything, the army is striving with its flesh and blood for the slim chance of China's survival, so that the world knows that China has armed forces and its people's morale that are not to be bullied, not only being a model of armed forces but also being the armed force of the revolution and the vanguard of anti-imperialism. In setting up this hospital, our generation is only showing part of its stand with the masses and expressing its reverence for and gratitude to these unprecedentedly revolutionary fighters. In December of the same year, with Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei and Yang Xingfo, she organized the China League for Human Rights to oppose Chiang Kai-shek's fascist massacre. When elaborating on

the league's mission, she said: "If the revolution in China is not victorious, imperialism will subjugate and carve up the country. There are no other alternatives. I believe in the ultimate victory of the Chinese people. I think the China League for Human Rights is one of the instruments propelling us forward toward attainment of this goal." The league protected and rescued many CCP members and anti-Chiang patriotic democrats by struggling against the Kuomintang reactionaries, and made a special contribution to the revolutionary cause.

On 1 April 1933, Soong Ching Ling published a message to the Chinese people, opposing the Chiang Kai-shek government's persecution of patriots who opposed imperialism and resisted Japanese aggression and the illegal arrest of the communists Luo Dengxian, Liao Chengzhi and Chen Gong. She called on the Chinese people to rise in a struggle to protect the arrested revolutionaries. In an article entitled "Unite, Chinese Workers" and published in Shanghai in May 1933, Soong Ching Ling pointed out: "The Chiang Kai-shek government cannot unify China, cannot lead the armed people in a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism and cannot give the peasants land." She called on the people of the whole country to "unite, get organized, and struggle for China's liberation, unification and territorial integrity."

In September 1933, she convened the Far East conference of the World Anti-Imperialist War Committee in Shanghai and delivered a speech in which she said, "The present era marks the birth of a new social system--socialism"; "Reactionary armed forces can be confronted only with revolutionary armed forces"; "We are against imperialist war, but for national revolutionary war waged by the people who take up arms."

In 1934, the Chinese Communist Party put forward a six-point program to resist Japan and save the nation which was published over the signatures of Soong Ching Ling and other democrats.

In 1935, when Japanese imperialism further intensified its aggression against China and the Chinese people's resist-Japan national salvation movement was in a further upsurge, Soong Ching Ling continued her unremitting struggle to form a national united front for resistance against Japan and to protect the people's democratic rights. On 1 August 1935, the CCP Central Committee issued the "August 1" declaration which called the people of the whole country to unite to end the civil war and resist Japan. Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning, Liu Yazhi, Jing Xiangyi, Chen Shuren as well as Yu Youren and Sun Ke were the first to respond, exerting a tremendous influence.

Shen Junru, Zou Taofen and other democrats established the "National Salvation Federation" in Shanghai in May 1936, demanding that the Kuomintang government stop the civil war, release political prisoners, negotiate peace with the Red Army and establish a unified government of resistance against Japan. Soong Ching Ling was a member of the executive committee of the federation. In November of the same year, the Kuomintang government arrested Shen Junru, Zou Taofen, Li Gongpu, Sha Qianli, Shi Liang, Zhang Naiqi and Wang Zaoshi--all members of the federation. Soong Ching Ling issued a statement on 26 November, protesting the arrest of the seven champions of democracy. When the Kuomintang tried the seven leaders of the democratic movement, she went to the "higher court" in Suzhou and, following their imprisonment, asked the court to shut her up as well for the "crime of patriotism."

Kuomintang Generals Zhang Xueliang and Yang Hucheng, who were eager to resist Japanese aggression, arrested Chiang Kai-shek in the famous Xian incident of 12 December 1936. Soong Ching Ling was one of those who advocated that Chiang Kai-shek be released on condition that he agree to end the civil war and resist Japanese aggression.

Along with Feng Yuxiang, He Xiangning and other Kuomintang left-wingers, Soong Ching Ling proposed at the 3d Plenary Session of the Kuomintang Central Committee in February 1937 to restore Dr Sun Yat-sen's three great policies of alliance with Soviet Russia, cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers. She made a speech at the meeting, asking the Kuomintang government to end the civil war and mobilize all the forces, including the Communist Party, to defend China's territorial integrity. In November of the same year, she issued a statement supporting the formation of an anti-Japanese national united front.

Soong Ching Ling initiated and organized the China Defense League in June 1938 to publicize the anti-Japanese movement among people abroad and collect medical and other supplies from all over the world. To provide first-aid to wounded soldiers, the league introduced medical teams organized by foreign friends to the anti-Japanese base areas set up by the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army. The team led by the Canadian surgeon, Dr Norman Bethune, was one of these.

After the "south Anhui incident" in the spring of 1941, Soong Ching Ling, He Xiangning and others sent a joint message denouncing Chiang Kai-shek and demanding that he "stop using armed force to attack the Communist Party." After the Japanese militarists launched the Pacific war in December 1941, Soong Ching Ling arrived in Chongqing from Hong Kong and immediately resumed the activities of the China Defense League. During this period, she got together with George Hatem, Agnes Smedley, Edgar Snow, Rewi Alley and other foreign friends and worked for the Chinese people's cause of resistance to Japanese aggression.

Soong Ching Ling returned to Shanghai in 1945 when the anti-Japanese war ended in victory. Late that year she organized the China Welfare Fund, which rendered support to progressive organizations and democratic forces. During the liberation war, the fund provided substantial material assistance to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese People's Liberation Army. On 23 July 1946, Soong Ching Ling issued a statement in Shanghai, calling for the organization of a coalition government and urging the American people to stop the U.S. Government from giving military assistance to the Kuomintang.

In 1948, Kuomintang veterans including Li Jishen (Li Chi-shen), He Xiangning and Feng Yuxiang organized the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang in Hong Kong, and Soong Ching Ling was named its honorary chairman.

On 1 July 1949, Soong Ching Ling published an article in Shanghai, "Salute the Chinese Communist Party," which expressed heartfelt acclaim for the people's victory.

In September 1949, at the invitation of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, Soong Ching Ling came to Beijing to attend the first plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. She delivered a speech at the session, calling for the founding of an independent, democratic,

peaceful, strong and prosperous China, which would work for lasting world peace. On 30 September, she was elected vice chairman of the central people's government. From that time onward, Soong Ching Ling was a prominent state leader, and Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Liu Shaoqi often exchanged views with her on major domestic and international issues.

As an official representative of China, Soong Ching Ling took part in international activities frequently, making outstanding contributions to the promotion of friendship among peoples, progressive culture and world peace.

She was elected a member of the executive bureau of the World Peace Council at the organization's second congress in Warsaw on 23 November 1950.

On 18 September 1951, she was awarded the Stalin peace prize. She donated the entire 100,000 rubles to welfare institutions for Chinese women and children.

Soong Ching Ling led the Chinese delegation to the peace conference for Asian and Pacific regions held in Beijing in October 1952 and was elected chairman of the peace liaison committee of the Asian and Pacific regions. She again headed a Chinese delegation to the World Peace Congress in Vienna in December 1952.

From 16 December 1955 to 4 February 1956, Soong Ching Ling visited India, Burma and Pakistan, and in August 1956 she visited Indonesia. All these visits were successful.

In November 1957, Comrade Soong Ching Ling accompanied Comrade Mao Zedong at the Moscow meeting of representatives of communist and workers parties.

In the capacity of vice chairman of the People's Republic of China, Soong Ching Ling visited Ceylon along with Premier Zhou Enlai and Vice Premier Chen Yi in February 1964.

Soong Ching Ling was a respected and beloved leader of all the nationalities of China. In September 1954, she was elected vice chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress at the first session of the First National People's Congress.

In December 1954, she was elected vice chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference at the first session of the second National Committee of the CPPCC. On 27 April 1959, Soong Ching Ling was elected vice chairman of the People's Republic of China at the first session of the Second National People's Congress. On 3 January 1965, she was reelected vice chairman of the People's Republic of China at the first session of the Third National People's Congress.

On 12 November 1966, Soong Ching Ling delivered a speech in the Chinese capital at a ceremony solemnly commemorating the centenary of the birth of Dr Sun Yat-sen, in which she said, "With unwavering belief in our objectives, with staunch faith in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, with unbounded confidence in our ability to win, we join hands in struggle with all who strive for a world without exploitation of man by man, without national oppression and without racial discrimination."

On 17 January 1975, at the first session of the Fourth National People's Congress and again on 5 March 1978, at the first session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Soong Ching Ling was reelected vice chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee.

Soong Ching Ling was an outstanding leader of the women of China. On 25 April 1953, she was elected honorary president of the All-China Women's Federation. In 1957, at the first session of the federation's third executive committee, and in 1978, at the fourth national congress of Chinese women, she was again elected honorary president of the federation. When delivering the closing address at the fourth national congress of Chinese women, she emphatically pointed out: "To bring up with the best of care the children to be reliable successors of the revolution is a strategic task of the party and the state, and also a lofty duty of women in the new era."

Soong Ching Ling showed great concern for the health and education of the children of China and was their affectionate grandmother. She was chairman of the Chinese People's National Committee in Defense of Children since 26 November 1951.

On the eve of the 14 May 1981 forum to honor "June 1" International Children's Day, she wrote a letter to wish the meeting success, explaining that she could not attend because of illness. In the letter she said: "Though I am unable to attend the meeting, my heart beats together with yours in love and concern for our children."

Soong Ching Ling was elected executive chairman of the People's Relief Administration of China in April 1950. In August of the same year, the China Welfare Fund which she had founded was renamed the China Welfare Institute. She continued to lead this organization during her lifetime.

Soong Ching Ling always concerned herself with the future of Taiwan, and she sincerely expected that talks between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party would be conducted at an earlier date, so as to accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland. She made valuable contributions to this cause.

On 29 September 1979, Soong Ching Ling published an article in celebration of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, entitled "The People's Will Is Invincible." The article said, "We have taken great strides along the bright road of socialism over the past 30 years under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Although the road has been hard and tortuous, careerists and conspirators have been unable to defeat the strong will of 900 million people. Not a single one of these careerists has not been badly battered and smashed by the strong will of the people. This has always been the case in the past and will remain so in the future. I am confident that the people's will is invincible. She also said: "Today I am already well over 80 years old. When I see that the international and domestic situations are excellent, and that, after overcoming the danger of being capsized, the ship of new China is again riding the winds and clearing the waves as it advances upright and unafraid, I feel joy in the bottom of my heart and incomparable happiness. I also see new brightness for the motherland. I sincerely hope that the great people of our country, under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, will constantly enhance their unity and march toward a brighter future. I shall be happy to march forward shoulder to shoulder with everyone involved in this great and heroic cause."

On 15 May 1981, the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee accepted Soong Ching Ling as a full member of the Communist Party of China.

On 16 May 1981, the 18th meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress conferred on Soong Ching Ling the title of honorary president of the People's Republic of China.

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THE GLORIOUS ROAD OF A GREAT COMMUNIST FIGHTER—IN MEMORY OF COMRADE SOONG CHING LING

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[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Board]

[Text] The passing away of Comrade Soong Ching Ling, an exemplary member of the CCP, one of the founders of the PRC and our honorary state chairman, has filled the whole party and the whole nation with immense grief. Since 1913, in striving for founding an independent, democratic, prosperous and strong new China and for thoroughly liberating the Chinese nation and people, Comrade Soong Ching Ling remained faithful and unswerving, struggled all her life and performed outstanding feats. Comrade Soong Ching Ling lived her life as a great champion of patriotism, democracy, internationalism and communism. She will occupy a glorious and indelible place in modern and contemporary Chinese history.

The road taken by Comrade Soong Ching Ling strikingly draws people's attention and touches people's hearts. Just as Comrade Deng Xiaoping said in his memorial speech: "She never ceased advancing in pace with history. She changed from a great revolutionary democrat into a great communist." Since her youth, Comrade Soong Ching Ling resolved to dedicate herself to the cause of revolution led by Dr Sun Yat-sen. The failure of the 1911 revolution had rendered the old democratic revolution beyond saving. Comrade Soong Ching Ling assisted Sun Yat-sen in assembling revolutionary forces to struggle against the northern warlords. After the "May 4th" movement broke out, she and Sun Yat-sen enthusiastically welcomed and supported this great patriotic democratic movement, which raised the curtain on the new democratic revolution. Subsequently, Sun Yat-sen accepted the proposals of the CCP and adopted the revolutionary three people's principles, which embodied the three major policies of establishing an alliance with the Russians, establishing an alliance with the communists, and supporting and assisting the peasants and workers. Comrade Soong Ching Ling was then his competent assistant. After the death of Sun Yat-sen in 1925, the rightists in the Kuomintang, headed by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei, betrayed the revolutionary three people's principles set by Sun Yat-sen and led the Chinese revolution, which had hitherto been full of promise, into an abyss of darkness. At that critical moment, Comrade Soong Ching Ling, determined to carry on the ideals and cause of Sun Yat-sen, came forward resolutely and bravely, held high Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary banner, united the leftists in the Kuomintang to side with the progressive forces in China, whose core was the CCP, and launched uncompromising struggles against the Kuomintang reactionaries. During the following 20 years and more, those long years marked by massive and ceaseless bloodshed, Comrade Soong Ching Ling disregarded various kinds of action taken

against her by the reactionaries, such as promise of gain, intimidation and persecution; exploited every advantageous condition selflessly and skillfully to carry out revolutionary activities; and went all-out to support the cause of the people's revolution led by the CCP, until Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary rule over the mainland was completely overthrown. After the founding of new China, as one of the leaders of our state, Comrade Soong Ching Ling devoted all her efforts and made enormous contributions to our country's socialist revolution and socialist construction, to the cause of safeguarding world peace and promoting human progress, and in particular to the work of taking care of and educating children. History has testified that the road of devoting oneself to the people's revolutionary cause and struggling for the building of a new China, which Comrade Soong Ching Ling chose and followed for over 70 years, is the correct road in line with historical trends.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling was a great patriot. She took the revolutionary road out of patriotism. Since her youth she was imbued with fervent and boundless love for the motherland. When she was being educated at Wesleyan College for Women, she wrote and published articles to express her views on the future of China. Deeply concerned about the destiny of the motherland, she thought that life would be devoid of charm if one were to forget one's motherland. The fact that imperialism and the Chinese reactionaries were trampling on the motherland filled her with indignation. She hoped that the motherland would one day become really independent, democratic, prosperous and powerful. It was precisely these patriotic thoughts which constituted an enormous motive force and firm basis for her active participation in the cause of the revolution led by Sun Yat-sen. With the development of the Chinese revolution, she progressed from patriotism to revolutionary democracy and then to communism, so that finally she grew into a champion of communism. It can be seen from the life of Comrade Soong Ching Ling that patriotism should be unconditional. Patriotism is tantamount to loving the people, closely integrating one's own destiny with the people's destiny, and devoting oneself to striving for a beautiful and bright future for the people. A patriot is not necessarily a communist, but a communist must in the first place be a patriot.

A patriot cannot become a revolutionary without taking part in revolutionary practice or throwing oneself into fiery mass struggles. The noblest quality of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's was that she was a great revolutionary with the will to do solid work. Taking the road of a revolutionary, she changed from a patriot into a revolutionary democrat and then into a communist. She could traverse the whole course of this road only after she had completely broken with five categories of reactionary forces.

First, she broke with the feudal monarchic system. The decadent and moribund nature of this system, which had dominated China for some 2,000 years, became increasingly evident toward the end of the Qing dynasty. Declaring a break with this reactionary system was the road which every progressive Chinese had to take at that time. Even before the 1911 revolution, Comrade Soong Ching Ling greatly admired and respected Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary proposition of overthrowing the autocratic monarchic rule. She was overjoyed at the success of the 1911 revolution. She trampled the dragon flag of the Qing dynasty under her feet and acclaimed the institution of the republican system. She wrote in an article to highly appraise the significance of the 1911 revolution: "This means

that 400 million people have been emancipated from the slavery of an extreme monarchy." This shows that Comrade Soong Ching Ling deeply resented and broke with the feudal monarchic system in which the monarch could claim, "I am equal to the country."

Second, she broke with the reactionary rule of the warlords. Because of the weaknesses and limitations of bourgeois revolution, the fruits of the 1911 revolution were soon seized by the northern warlords, represented by Yuan Shihkai. During the following 10 years and more, the warlords, who were occupying various places, waged tangled warfare year after year, so that the broad masses of people suffered extreme misery. Sun Yat-sen was greatly distressed and launched several punitive expeditions against Yuan. He enthusiastically supported the "May 4th" patriotic movement, which was aimed at opposing imperialism and feudalism, and whose direct object of attack was the northern warlords' government. He resolved to organize revolutionary armies to launch a northern expedition against Chen Jiongming, the local warlord who betrayed the revolution, and others. These were his specific actions against the rule of the warlords. As Sun Yat-sen's assistant, comrade-in-arms and revolutionary companion, Comrade Soong Ching Ling wholeheartedly supported these just actions of Sun Yat-sen's, and thus showed her clear-cut stand of breaking with the rule of the warlords.

Third, she broke with the Kuomintang rightists. From the very beginning, the Kuomintang rightists resented and opposed the three major policies of "establishing an alliance with the Russians, establishing an alliance with the communists and supporting and assisting the peasants and workers," which were proposed by Sun Yat-sen and adopted by the first national congress of the Kuomintang. As soon as Sun Yat-sen died, they impatiently came out to oppose the three major policies, to attack the communists and to "purge undesirable elements from the party." At the end of 1925, the "Xishan meeting" faction, headed by Xie Chi and Zou Lu, adopted proposals such as "depriving communists of Kuomintang membership," "expelling the Central Committee executive member Li Dazhao, delegate of the Communist Party," and so on. They openly carried out activities to betray and split the revolutionary camp. In these circumstances, Comrade Soong Ching Ling took the initiative to unite the Kuomintang leftists with the Communists, and dealt a heavy blow to the Kuomintang rightists. At the second national congress of the Kuomintang, convened in January 1926, she made a speech strongly condemning the rightist clique in the Kuomintang for violating Sun Yat-sen's teachings. Her principles and stand won the respect of the majority of representatives. In 1927, Chiang Kai-shek launched the "April 12" counterrevolutionary coup and butchered the communists on a massive scale. Comrade Soong Ching Ling, together with communists such as Mao Zedong, Dong Biwu, Yun Daiying, Lin Boqu, Wu Yuzhang and so on, as well as with Kuomintang leftists such as Deng Yanda and Chen Youren, published an open telegram denouncing Chiang Kai-shek. In July of the same year, on the eve of the formation of the counterrevolutionary "coalition of the Nanjing forces and the Wuhan forces," which was going to take place after Wang Jingwei followed in Chiang Kai-shek's footsteps and turned traitor, Comrade Soong Ching Ling published in Hankou her "declaration to protest against violations of Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary principles and policies." She clearly declared: "In my view, the interpretations of Sun Yat-sen's principles and policies by certain Executive Committee members of our party are against Sun Yat-sen's ideas and ideals. Therefore, I will not

take part in the implementation of our party's new policies." From then on, she no longer maintained relations with the Kuomintang, which was manipulated by Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Jingwei and company. She completely broke with the Kuomintang rightists.

Fourth, she broke with Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime. The Chiang Kai-shek regime was established in compliance with the needs of imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and the big landlord class. During its 22 years of existence, it exercised more vigorous dictatorship over China and practiced the reactionary policy of capitulating to foreign countries. It pushed the Chinese people into an abyss of miseries. Comrade Soong Ching Ling persistently waged tit-for-tat struggles against the reactionaries headed by Chiang Kai-shek. In 1929, after she returned to China from the Soviet Union, she resolutely refused to take up any posts in the Kuomintang Central Committee or government. In 1931, she bravely declared that the Kuomintang, which was manipulated solely by Chiang Kai-shek, "was no longer a political force," and that it was "utterly notorious, utterly detested and rejected by the whole nation." She had no pity for its doom. The next year, she and Lu Xun, Cai Yuanpei and others organized the "League for Safeguarding Human Rights in China" to wage tenacious struggles against the criminal acts of the Chiang Kai-shek government, such as deliberately depriving the people of their rights and carrying out fascist massacres. They rescued many communists and patriots from Kuomintang prisons. In the article "Workers of China, Unite!" which was published later, she denounced Chiang Kai-shek's "treacherous acts against our country," such as suppressing the people and thwarting the people in fighting against Japan. She sharply pointed out that his government was "the representative of the landlord and bourgeois cliques, which deceives and oppresses the people as well as brings disasters on the nation." In 1936, the seven leaders of the National Union of Various Circles for National Salvation were arrested by the Chiang Kai-shek government. Imbued with a sense of justice, Comrade Soong Ching Ling raised her protest as an executive committee member of this organization. She even went to Suzhou and requested the "high court" to punish her for the "crime of patriotism" together with the "seven gentlemen." During the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Soong Ching Ling solemnly exposed and criticized the Kuomintang reactionaries' reactionary policies of compromising with and surrendering to Japan as well as opposing the Chinese communists and the Chinese people. After the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, Chiang Kai-shek, risking universal condemnation, started a new civil war and vainly attempted to destroy the armed forces and liberated areas that were under the leadership of the CCP. Comrade Soong Ching Ling promptly published declarations pointing out that Chiang Kai-shek was essentially opposing the people in starting a civil war. She said that the reactionary elements could not hope to win victory in this war. The only way out was to abolish the dictatorship of a single party and organize a united government. She appealed to the American people to stop their government from providing military assistance to the Kuomintang. From the time of the war of resistance against Japan to the liberation war period, Comrade Soong Ching Ling struggled ceaselessly against the Kuomintang reactionaries until this reactionary regime was completely defeated.

Last, she broke with imperialism. In his latter years, Sun Yat-sen deeply realized from his revolutionary experiences accumulated over several decades that to succeed in revolution, China had to oppose imperialism and struggle in unity

with the nations of the world that treated China as an equal. In her revolutionary practice, Comrade Soong Ching Ling also fully understood this point. She always adopted the attitude of uncompromisingly breaking with imperialism. As early as 1925, when the "May 30" massacre took place, she expressed immense indignation at the violent acts of British and Japanese imperialism. She praised the masses for their patriotic act of struggling against imperialism. She thought that this represented "one of the aims of the revolution waged by Dr Sun Yat-sen over 40 years." In the 1930's, because the Japanese imperialists were ceaselessly stepping up their aggression against China and the Kuomintang was always making compromises and capitulations, Comrade Soong Ching Ling repeatedly published declarations solemnly condemning Japanese imperialism for its ambition and crime of vainly attempting to annex China, and she appealed to the whole nation to rise up and fight the invaders. After the war of resistance against Japan started, she took the lead to organize the "League for Defending China" to vigorously win the sympathy and support of the peoples of the world in favor of China's war of resistance against Japan and to reveal the crimes of aggression committed by Japanese imperialism. Comrade Soong Ching Ling also actively participated in international movements aimed at opposing imperialism and safeguarding peace. On one occasion she was elected honorary chairman of the congress of the international alliance against imperialism, and on another occasion she was a principle leader of the world antifascist committee. In 1933, disregarding harassment and bans by imperialist forces and the Kuomintang reactionaries, Comrade Soong Ching Ling exercised leadership over the convention of the Far East meeting of the "World Committee for Opposing Imperialist War" in Shanghai. She spoke at the meeting and appealed for "launching a powerful movement against imperialist wars throughout the Far East, and in particular in China." It should be said that the above-mentioned actions of Comrade Soong Ching Ling's in breaking with feudal monarchy, warlord forces, Kuomintang rightists and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek regime actually constituted part of her act of completely breaking with imperialism, because all the above-mentioned reactionary forces were the loyal running dogs of imperialism. Propped up by imperialism, they cruelly oppressed and enslaved the broad masses of working people in China.

We can clearly see from the course of the struggle waged by Comrade Soong Ching Ling that she opened up her own road toward communism precisely by completely breaking with various domestic reactionary forces and foreign imperialism as mentioned above. She was absolutely free from sycophancy or obsequiousness. She never exhibited any trace of hesitation, despair or dejection in the face of any setback or difficulty. She persistently and sincerely loved the motherland and the people. She zealously pursued truth and had infinite confidence in China's future. In the face of the Kuomintang reactionaries' promise of gain, intimidation and persecution, she displayed the dauntless spirit of "treating them with cold contempt" and fighting calmly. She cherished lofty sentiments of infinite loyalty to the people's revolutionary cause, so that "neither riches nor honor could corrupt her; neither threat nor force could bend her." She had the revolutionary firmness wholeheartedly and steadfastly to fight side by side with the CCP to create a new China. She did not put on airs. She was amiable. Without going after any private gain, she displayed an immense sense of responsibility and quietly worked in the people's interest for several decades.

During the years of hardship when the CCP led the people to wage protracted revolutionary struggles, Comrade Soong Ching Ling supported our party's political views with the utmost sincerity, did not fear brute force or intimidation, resolutely supported the people's revolutionary cause, and was the most faithful and reliable comrade-in-arms of the CCP. As early as when Dr Sun Yat-sen was discussing prospects of cooperation with CCP representatives, Comrade Soong Ching Ling did a great deal of work which practically and effectively promoted cooperation. When the second congress of the Kuomintang was being convened in January 1926, she closely united with the communists to wage resolute struggles against the Kuomintang rightists. After Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei turned traitor in 1927, she resolutely stood on the side of and fought together with the CCP. In 1934, she signed her name under the "six key programs for resisting Japan and saving our nation," which was put forward and published by the CCP. In 1935, she and others took the lead to respond to the "August 1 declaration" issued by our party Central Committee, which appealed to the whole nation to unite, stop the civil war and fight in unison against the Japanese. During the years of darkness when the Kuomintang reactionaries cruelly persecuted the communists and patriots, with the help of her lofty prestige and status as well as her extensive social relations, Comrade Soong Ching Ling tried by all means to support, protect and rescue numerous persecuted comrades. During the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation, without caring how difficult or dangerous the circumstances were, Comrade Soong Ching Ling persistently and diligently disclosed to the world the truth of how the CCP was leading the revolution, steadfastly arranged for sending to the liberated areas through various channels medical equipment, medicine, cash and other goods and materials which were collected through donation campaigns, and thus effectively supported the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the People's Liberation Army. These things showed that, as a faithful comrade-in-arms of the CCP, Comrade Soong Ching Ling took the people's revolutionary cause as her own, and took part in the people's revolutionary struggles in her own special way with the help of her special status. On 1 July 1949, she published her article to hail the victory of the revolution in China, calling our party "our leader," and she fervently said: "Salute the Communist Party." Subsequently, she accepted an invitation from Comrade Mao Zedong and the party Central Committee and went to Beijing to attend the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. After the founding of the People's Republic, as one of our state leaders, she frequently discussed issues of major importance to our country with our party Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong, Comrade Zhou Enlai, Comrade Liu Shaoqi and others. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said: "At various critical moments, Vice Chairman Soong has always supported our party and stood on the side of the people. Her contributions even exceed those of some responsible comrades in our party." It should also be pointed out that since early times Comrade Soong Ching Ling considered it her greatest honor and considered it would give her the greatest happiness to become a communist. Since early times, she set demands on her own words and deeds according to the norms of a communist. In 1958, she requested to be admitted into the party. However, when the party Central Committee advised her that it would be more favorable to the cause of the party for her to temporarily remain outside the party, she gladly and sincerely submitted herself to the party's decision.

Comrade Soong Ching Ling loved our party so fervently because she fervently loved our people as well as the cause of the Chinese people's revolution, which has been led by the Communist Party. She deeply knew from her experiences in life that without the CCP there would have been no new China or socialism or communism. This was the loftiest attainment in her lifelong search for truth. Such an attainment could not be divorced from her belief in Marxism-Leninism and firm conviction that socialism and communism would inevitably be victorious. She knew that one could have firm confidence in the revolution and work well only if one applied the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoints and methods to understand the world. Back in the 1930's, when she was in Shanghai, she had paid great attention to studying Marxism-Leninism. She not only studied it herself, but showed concern for and gave assistance in the study of Marxism-Leninism by the personnel who worked with her, including foreign friends. She arranged for them to study Marx' and Lenin's works. In 1931, Comrade Soong Ching Ling expressed her firm belief: "Only a revolution that is based on the masses and serves the masses can crush the power of the warlords and politicians, free us from the fetters imposed by imperialism, and lead to the real practice of socialism." Later she said: "Socialism and communism will ultimately become the universally adopted social system over the whole world." She said: "This social system can be realized and will certainly be realized only under the leadership of the Communist Party." Ever since her belief in socialism and communism was established, she never hesitated nor wavered. She persistently and ceaselessly advanced with the pace of the times and finally became a great champion of communism.

When Comrade Soong Ching Ling was nearing death, the party Central Committee accepted her as a CCP member according to her desire, thus fulfilling her long-cherished wish and writing in her glorious history the last, brilliant-red page. Was this accidental? Not at all. This was the inevitable result of the conversion of Comrade Soong Ching Ling from a thorough democrat into a communist. As a communist, she fervently loved and showed concern for the people. She loved what the people loved and resented what they resented. She was one with the people and shared weal and woe with them. She was ready to undergo any ordeal if warranted by the people's needs. She devoted the efforts of her whole life without reservation to the people's revolutionary cause and to the cause of construction. As a communist, she adhered to Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship and party leadership. In a word, she adhered to revolutionary truth. As a communist, she was lofty in virtue, style and integrity. She cherished lofty communist sentiments and a firm belief in communism. The history of the past 70 years has proved that Comrade Soong Ching Ling is a fine example of a revolutionary soldier, a revolutionary cadre and a communist. She can be called a model member of the Chinese nation in our generation. Our respected and beloved Comrade Zhou Enlai praised her as the "gem of our nation." She is absolutely worthy of this praise.

Although Comrade Soong Ching Ling has passed away, she will live forever in the hearts of all the Chinese people, as all great revolutionaries do. Her revolutionary spirit and lofty virtues will shine forever, serving as a force to encourage us to accomplish the great cause of unifying our motherland and building our country into a socialist power with a high degree of democracy and civilization.

WE ARE FORGING AHEAD ALONG THE GREAT SOCIALIST ROAD

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[Article by staff commentator]

[Text] From 1921 to 1981, our party passed through 60 years of glorious struggle. Leading the people of all nationalities throughout the country, our party overthrew the domination of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in China, brought about the most profound social change in human history in the world's most populous country and made universally acknowledged outstanding achievements. Although we have made some mistakes and suffered some setbacks since the founding of new China, the record of these 30 and more years will go down in history as a glorious chapter in the victorious advance of our people on the socialist road.

I

In the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we have scored great achievements in the fields of socialist revolution and socialist construction under the leadership of the party.

After overturning the three big mountains of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism that had lain like deadweight on the backs of the Chinese people, we set up a people's democratic dictatorship, or the state power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the working class. This power is basically different in character from that of the exploiting class, which oppressed and exploited the people. It belongs to the people and protects the people. It practices the most extensive democracy among the people and exercises dictatorship over the enemies of the people. The establishment of people's democratic power marked a new era in Chinese history: the history of a handful of exploiters dominating the overwhelming majority of people, which had existed for thousands of years, came to an end, and the broad masses of working people changed from oppressed slaves into the masters of the new society. Old China, which suffered more than a century from the bullying and humiliation of capitalism and imperialism, became the independent and self-governing new China. Our people are no longer a people bullied by others and we have stood up. The chaotic conditions of old China, which was rent by disunity, are gone forever. With the exception of Taiwan, the whole country is united as never before, and the people, and this includes the people of all nationalities, are united.

Since the setting up of the state power of the people's democratic dictatorship, we have promptly completed land reform throughout the country; realized the change from new democratic revolution to socialist revolution; carried out socialist transformation of individual agriculture, the handicrafts industry and capitalist industry and commerce; established the absolute superiority of the socialist economy, that is, ownership by the whole people, throughout the national economy; implemented the principle of from each according to his ability and to each according to his work; eliminated the exploiting system and the exploiting class and founded the most advanced socialist system in the history of mankind. For an economically backward and populous big nation in the East to step from a semi-feudal and semicolonial society into a socialist society is the greatest and most profound social change in the history of our country, which will not only provide the basic guarantee for making China rich, strong and prosperous, but will also have a far-reaching impact on the future of mankind.

The success of the new democratic revolution and socialist revolution and the setting up of the socialist system greatly emancipated our social productive forces. We applied the superior conditions provided by the new system to carry out planned large-scale economic construction on the "poor and blank" status of old China, and gradually set up an independent and relatively complete industrial system and national economic system for developing industrial and agricultural production and scientific, cultural and educational undertakings and improving the life of the people.

As a result of the domination of reactionaries and the aggression of imperialism, the national economy of old China was extremely backward. The output value of modern industry then accounted for only slightly more than 10 percent of the total industrial and agricultural output value, and the remaining 90 percent of the economy consisted of scattered and backward individual agriculture and handicrafts industry. Most of the limited amount of modern industry was in the hands of the imperialists. The level of industrial and agricultural production was very low and the national economy was in a hopeless decline. In 1949, total national industrial and agricultural output value amounted to only 46.6 billion yuan, of which the total output value for industry was 14 billion yuan and for agriculture 32.6 billion yuan. The national income of 35.8 billion yuan amounted to only 66 yuan per capita. The annual output of steel was only 1.58 million tons; coal was only 32 million tons; crude oil was only 120,000 tons; electricity was only 4.3 billion kilowatt-hours; and cotton cloth was only 1.89 billion meters. Old China was known as an agricultural country, but its agricultural production was also very backward. In 1949, total grain output was 113.2 tons or 418 jin per capita; cotton was 445,000 tons or 1.6 jin per capita; and the three oil-bearing crops--peanut, sesame seed and rapeseed--totaled 2.328 million tons or 8.6 jin per capita. This was the state of affairs left to us by old China. It was on this base that we carried out construction.

On the eve of the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The work of economic construction on a nationwide scale has been placed before us. Our excellent condition is that we have a population of 475 million and a territory of 9.6 million square kilometers. We are faced with many difficulties. However, we believe that all difficulties will be overcome

by the heroic struggle of the people throughout the country." At present, after more than 30 years of arduous efforts, we have built a backward agricultural country into an agricultural country with a considerable level of industry. There has been a very big increase in economic strength. In 1980, total industrial and agricultural output value reached 661.9 billion yuan or 13.2 times above that of 1949, of which, the total industrial output value of 499.2 billion yuan was 34.7 times above that of 1949 and the total agricultural output value of 162.7 billion yuan was 4 times above that of 1949. National income reached 363 billion yuan or 9.14 times above that of 1949. The national income of 369 yuan per capita was 4.6 times above that of 1949.

In the industrial sector, we not only developed the existing steel, electric power, petroleum, coal, chemical engineering, machine-building and light and textile industries, and the newly built aircraft, automobile and tractor industries, but also set up many new industries such as the synthetic fiber, plastic, electronics and atomic energy industries. Thus, the range of industries was complete. By 1980, fixed industrial assets in the whole country reached 410 billion yuan or equivalent more than 30 times above the fixed industrial assets accumulated by old China in nearly a century. The output of various principal products also showed a marked increase. In 1980, the output of raw coal was 620 million tons or 18.4 times above that of 1949; the output of crude oil was 105.95 million tons or 882 times above that of 1949; the output of electricity was 300.6 billion kilowatt-hours or nearly 69 times above that of 1949; the output of steel was 37.12 million tons or 234 times above that of 1949; the output of cement was 79.86 million tons or 120 times above that of 1949; the output of cotton cloth was 13.47 billion meters or 6.1 times above that of 1949.

In the agricultural sector, our water conservancy projects, agricultural machinery, agricultural chemical fertilizer and rural electricity consumption also greatly increased, and there was a marked improvement in agricultural production conditions. By 1980, the whole country had a total of 86,000 reservoirs of all sizes and 2.09 million motor-driven or power-driven wells. The irrigated area reached 675 million mu, or more than double the 299 million mu of 1952. The area plowed by tractors in the whole of China reached 610 million mu, or 41.3 percent of the total cultivated area and 300 times that of the 2.04 million mu in 1952. The amount of agricultural chemical fertilizer used was 12,694 million tons, or an average of 8.52 kilograms of chemical fertilizer for each mu of cultivated land. This was an increase of 41.6 times the 0.2 kilogram used in 1952. Rural electricity consumption was 32.1 billion kilowatt-hours, or an increase of 641 times the 50 million kilowatt-hours consumed in 1952 and equivalent to 7.5 times the electricity generated in the whole country in the early period of the liberation. The improvement in agricultural production conditions effectively promoted the development of production. In 1980, total grain production reached 318 million tons, or 1.8 times above that of 1949; the output of cotton was 2.70 million tons, or 5 times above that of 1949; total output of the three oil-bearing crops--peanut, sesame seed and rapeseed--reached 6,691 million tons or 2.3 times above that of 1949. By relying on our own strength, we had basically guaranteed the food and clothing needs of nearly 1 billion people.

Along with the increase in production, there was a greater development in our education, science, culture, health and sports. In 1980, we had 204 million students studying in full-time schools in the country or 6.9 times that of the early period of the liberation. In the 32 years, our institutions of higher learning and technical secondary schools had turned out nearly 9 million people who had received professional training. The number of workers in the whole country had increased to 100 million people, and we had a contingent of technical and management cadres and skilled workers of a fairly high standard. We had built a series of new scientific and technological departments from scratch. Our successes in nuclear technology, satellite technology and missile-launching technology showed the important achievements made by our sophisticated scientific and technical departments. There was a considerable improvement in the material and cultural life of the people compared with the early period of the liberation. Discounting the factor of rising prices, the average consumption level of urban and rural people throughout the country in 1980 had nearly doubled that of 1952. There was also a very big improvement in the health of the people, and their average lifespan had nearly doubled that before the liberation.

As long as we are open-minded, we can see from these undeniable facts: We have definitely made tremendous achievements under the socialist system which could never be obtained under other social systems. Within a short period of 32 years, we have scored achievements which old China could not make in several centuries. The rate of growth of our industrial and agricultural production is one of the fastest in the world. This has initially as well as effectively demonstrated the superiority of the socialist system. These achievements are the fruits of the united struggle and diligent labor of the party and people and the basis for the continued advance of the whole party and people. To fully affirm these achievements and correctly understand their significance means to affirm the struggle of the people and the socialist road chosen by the people and affirm the leadership of the party over revolution and construction. We should greatly treasure these achievements and confidently struggle for the consolidation and development of the victory of the people.

II

The road of our advance was not smooth all the way, and we had relatively smooth development as well as serious setbacks.

In the past 30 and more years, especially during the first 7 years following the founding of the People's Republic, the people of various nationalities in the country had, under the leadership of the party, step by step realized the change from new democratic revolution to socialist revolution and basically completed the socialist transformation of private ownership of the means of production. During this period, the guiding policy and fundamental principles determined by the party were correct, work was more properly carried out and a brilliant victory was obtained. When the nationwide land reform was completed and the work of rehabilitating the national economy was about to be concluded, the party, on the suggestion of Comrade Mao Zedong, put forth the general line for the transitional period and decided to basically realize the industrialization of the country and the socialist transformation of agriculture, the handicrafts industry and capitalist industry and commerce within 15 years. This general line reflected the inevitable demand of the historical development of the Chinese

revolution and the interests and aspirations of the masses of working people. Its content was correct, its proposal was timely and its predetermined measures were also appropriate. Our party integrated the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China, creatively developed a road of socialist transformation suitable to China's unique conditions, adopted diverse transitional forms, proceeded in an orderly manner and smoothly carried out the profound change from private ownership to public ownership. In this large-scale and extremely profound social change involving several hundred million people, we not only avoided a drop in productive forces, which normally would be unavoidable under such conditions, effectively promoted the development of the whole national economy and strengthened the socialist economy, but also correctly implemented the policy of transforming the former exploiters into self-supporting laborers. This was a great success in the history of world socialism. The shortcoming was, after the tempo had been stepped up in the summer of 1955, work became a bit careless. In the production and construction of the First Five-Year Plan, which began in 1953, the policy was correct, the tasks fixed were also appropriate and the various major proportional relations of the national economy were better coordinated. Consequently, production developed faster, the economic effect was better and there was a marked improvement in the life of the people.

The 10-year period from the basic completion of socialist transformation to the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution" was when we began the all-round building of socialism. After the basic completion of socialist transformation, the party led the people of the whole country to find a road for building socialism in keeping with our national conditions. The documents of the "eighth party congress" and such works as "On the 10 Major Relations" and "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" by Comrade Mao Zedong summed up the experiences in the early period of the founding of the People's Republic and put forth a series of brilliant ideas and correct policies and principles. However, because of a lack of experience, we became rash in the face of victory and made a very serious mistake in the Great Leap Forward of 1958. In changing production relations and in economic construction, we made the leftist mistake of subjective rash advance, and this resulted in high targets, arbitrary and impractical directions, proneness to boasting and exaggeration and the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely. In the winter of 1958, Comrade Mao Zedong tried to lead the whole party in correcting the mistakes already recognized and proposed such plans as not depriving the peasants, not going beyond the stage of development, opposing egalitarianism, putting the emphasis on the development of commodity production, observing the law of value and maintaining a comprehensive balance, and arranging the national economy in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. This was of important guiding significance both at that time and afterward. However, after the Lushan meeting in 1959, we again erroneously turned to "opposing the rightist tendency." We not only discontinued the process of correcting mistakes already started, but also further enlarged the original leftist mistake and subjected our socialist cause to a serious setback. After serious difficulties appeared in the national economy, the CCP Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong decided to carry out a policy of readjusting, consolidating, filling out and raising standards for the national economy, and on the basis of carrying out investigations and studies and summing up experiences, formulated in succession a series of correct policies, rules and measures for work in various fields, made tremendous efforts for correcting mistakes and overcoming difficulties

and gradually returned various work to the right track so that the national economy could be rehabilitated and developed more quickly. Generally speaking, most of the work we have done during those 10 years had been correct and effective. A great part of the material and technical foundation for our present modernization was established during this period. Most of the backbone force for our national economic and cultural construction and their work experience was developed and accumulated during this period. The mistakes made by the party during this period were corrected by the party itself with the support of the people. For the sake of finding a socialist construction road suitable to conditions in China, we have accumulated valuable positive as well as negative experiences and lessons.

The most serious setback suffered by the socialist cause was the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" from May 1966 to October 1976. The mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution," and the counterrevolutionary sabotage by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" in particular, caused a great disaster to the party and state and resulted in heavy losses to our national economy. However, this did not cause any fundamental change in the character of our party and state. The party and government still eliminated all kinds of interference, continued to lead the people in carrying out socialist construction, and also obtained definite development and some important achievements in capital construction and in the fields of science and technology. However, in guiding economic work, we had for a time in varying degrees again set unrealistic targets that were too high in arranging production quotas and construction scales. On top of that, because of ineffective command and loss of control, the capital construction front became overextended and accumulation became excessive. The actual standard of living of the people declined and serious imbalances appeared in the national economy.

After the smashing of the "gang of four" in 1976, our party and state entered a new period of construction, and industrial and agricultural production made a more rapid recovery. However, in the first 2 years, because we underestimated the difficulties caused by the 10 years of internal disorder to the national economy and did not clean up the "leftist" guiding ideology in economic construction, we put forth some excessive and impractical slogans and targets in our anxiety for quick results. We again extended the scale of capital construction, which had already exceeded our national capability, and further aggravated the serious imbalances in the national economy. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, held in December 1978, comprehensively and conscientiously reversed the leftist mistakes made during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and determined the guiding policy of emancipating the mind, using one's brains, seeking truth from facts, uniting as one and looking forward; made the strategic policy of shifting the focus of work of the whole party to socialist modernization; put forth the demand on the whole party to pay attention to solving serious major imbalances in the national economy and passed a resolution for speeding up the development of agriculture. Not long afterward, based on the guidelines of the 3d Plenary Session, the central work conference again put forth the policy of readjusting, restructuring, consolidating and improving the national economy. By means of the efforts of the whole party and people throughout the country, a favorable situation rarely seen since the founding of the People's Republic appeared in our national economy within a very short time.

On summing up our economic work in the past 30 and more years, we have acquired experiences of success as well as lessons in failure. In the period of the 3 years of rehabilitation, the period of the first 5-year plan and the period of readjustment from 1963 to 1966, because our guiding policy for economic construction and various arrangements for production and construction were more in keeping with objective reality, work was better carried out and remarkable success was achieved. We suffered two major setbacks during the Great Leap Forward and the "Great Cultural Revolution." The mistakes of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular were of an overall and protracted nature. They caused heavy losses to our state and people and prevented us from making still greater achievements which we could have made. The people had to endure sufferings and sacrifices which they should not have been subjected to. This has been a very profound lesson.

The road of history has been tortuous. During the democratic revolution, only by means of making a comparison between victory and defeat and acquiring both the positive and negative experiences could we more fully understand the nature of the Chinese revolution. In the socialist period, only by means of making repeated comparisons between success and failure and between right and wrong in the 32 years since the founding of the People's Republic, and also acquiring both the positive and negative experiences, could we greatly deepen our understanding of the laws governing socialist revolution and socialist construction. To conscientiously sum up these historical experiences at present, we must further unify the thinking of the whole party and the people throughout the country on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought so as to score a greater victory in socialist modernization.

III

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has, with a thoroughgoing materialist attitude and the spirit of a high degree of responsibility toward the people, conscientiously summed up historical experiences and lessons, realistically corrected the long-existing "leftist" mistakes, and, based on the new historical condition, established and developed anew the guiding policy of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought of the party, carried out a series of reforms in the socialist economy and the political system and gradually opened up a correct road for China's socialist modernization. In the future, we must develop socialist modernization in accordance with the fundamental policy formulated by the party since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and keep on developing and perfecting it in practice.

1. We must resolutely and unswervingly focus the work of the party and the state on socialist modernization. Our aim in carrying out socialist revolution is to emancipate the productive forces, keep on improving labor productivity and satisfy the needs of the material life and cultural life of the people. Without highly developed social productive forces, the socialist system cannot be consolidated and there cannot be any great improvement in the material life and cultural life of the people. What is more, we will be unable to eventually eliminate all class differences and realize the ideal of communism. We have learned a serious lesson

in the past 30 and more years, namely, that for a long time after the basic completion of socialist transformation, we did not regard economic construction as the central task of the whole party and the whole country. Therefore, we were unable to give full play to the superiority of the socialist system. The development of the national economy was unstable and uncoordinated, and the improvement in the life of the people was very slow. In the future, apart from a large-scale invasion by a foreign enemy (even then we must still carry out economic construction needed and permitted by war), we must consistently regard socialist modernization as the center of all work. All other tasks must be subordinated to this center and revolve around it. We definitely cannot interfere with or undermine it.

2. We must proceed from our national conditions and fully understand the protracted and arduous nature of building socialism. Since nationwide liberation, we have stumbled many times in carrying out socialist construction. The most basic reason for this was because we have no clear knowledge of the national conditions in our country and do not understand the long and arduous efforts required to raise a country with such backward productive forces as ours to an advanced level. Therefore, because of our anxiety for quick results, we invariably made "leftist" mistakes in our guiding policy. We should soberly see that as a socialist country we have already made considerable achievements in economic construction. However, the level of our social economic and cultural development is still rather backward. We have a vast land area and abundant natural resources, but the amount of cultivated land per capita is very small and many of the natural resources have still not been exploited. China has a population of 1 billion people of whom 800 million are peasants, and manual labor is still the dominant factor in agriculture. Our commodity economy is not developed and social labor productivity is low. These conditions determine that our socialist modernization will be protracted and arduous. Only by doing what we are capable of and advancing step by step in an orderly manner can we harmoniously and healthily develop our national economy and gradually improve the life of the people on the basis of uninterrupted growth in production. Otherwise, haste will not bring success. Such sentiments as quick success and passive pessimism are both wrong.

3. The transformation and perfection of socialist production relations must correspond to the level and needs of the development of productive forces. In the past, a striking manifestation of leftist ideology in our economic work was: exaggerating the role played by the transformation of production relations in the development of productive forces, exceeding the level of the development of productive forces, changing too hastily and quickly the production relations, attempting to cross over from small collectives to big collectives and from collective ownership to whole-people ownership and eliminating essential individual economy as quickly as possible, and negating the proper position and role of distribution according to work, commodity production and regulation by market mechanism in the national economy. We should keep this lesson in mind. Proceeding from actual conditions in the country and under the condition of the absolute superiority of socialist public ownership, we should allow various economic sectors and forms of diversified economy to exist. We should give full play to the positive role of regulation by market mechanism under the unified planning and guidance of the state. Not only must we insist on the state

exercising scientific management by economic means and administrative means, but we must also guarantee the decisionmaking power of enterprises and enable them to become relatively independent commodity producers. We must adhere to the principle of distribution according to work, oppose egalitarianism and create in practice a form of distribution according to work suitable to the specific conditions of various professions and trades. After the old production relations have been replaced by the new production relations, there should be a period of stabilization and consolidation. We should readjust and perfect the production relations based on the needs of the development of the productive forces and set up a form of production relations suited to the development of the productive forces.

4. Make a success of all other work centered on economic construction. To build a strong and modern socialist country, there are many things we must do. The various tasks are inter-related and we cannot concentrate on one thing only and lose sight of the others. In reforming and perfecting the socialist economic system, we must at the same time strive to build a socialist political system with a highly democratic and perfect legal system. In building a high degree of material civilization, we must at the same time energetically develop education, science and culture, strengthen political and ideological work and gradually build a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization. To guarantee the smooth progress of modernization, we must correctly understand and handle the contradictions in socialist society and keep on strengthening the great unity among people of various nationalities throughout the country. We must strengthen the people's army and consolidate our national defense. We must adhere to the foreign policy of opposing hegemonism, safeguarding world peace, supporting the righteous struggle of the people of various countries and unremittently strengthening unity with peoples throughout the world.

To do all this, we must strive to strengthen and improve party leadership. The correct leadership of the party is the basic guarantee for the success of all our undertakings. In the history of the century and more since the Opium War of 1840, in order to save China and build up the country, the Chinese people explored various roads, tested various political parties and factions and finally chose the Chinese Communist Party and the socialist road. This inevitable result of the development of Chinese history is an irreversible and decisive choice made by the Chinese people in their long struggle. Even though certain mistakes and even serious setbacks appeared on the road of advance, our party together with the people have always succeeded in overcoming all kinds of difficulties, triumphing over enemies of every description, correcting their own mistakes and rediscovering the road of continued advance. This shows that we have a very strong self-regenerating capacity. We firmly believe that as long as we adhere to the four basic principles, closely unite with the masses and maintain what is good and correct what is wrong in the interests of the people, our socialist modernization is bound to triumph. Our future is bright.

THE FORMATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT

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[Text] For the past half a century and more, the Chinese communists with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative have made a theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This synthesis constituted a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions--Mao Zedong Thought. Sprouted during the party's infancy, it has taken shape, enriched itself and developed step-by-step as the party has grown more and more mature and has guided us to win a great victory in revolution and construction. It has been borne out by history that without the Communist Party there can be no Mao Zedong Thought and no socialist new China. Correctly understanding Comrade Mao Zedong's historical role and Mao Zedong Thought and unswervingly upholding Marxism-Leninism; Mao Zedong Thought is a fundamental question which has a vital bearing on the future and destiny of the party and state.

I

The emergence of Mao Zedong Thought in the Orient and its birth in China is an inevitable development of history. After World War I and the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia under the leadership of Lenin, the world's proletarian revolution reached a new stage of development and the CCP began to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to lead the Chinese people in carrying out revolutionary struggles. It was under these historical conditions that Mao Zedong Thought came into being.

As we all know, Marxism stems from the sum total of the revolutionary experiences and revolutionary ideas of all countries. "This theory provides only general guiding principles, which, in particular, are applied in England differently than in France, in France differently than in Germany, and in Germany differently than in Russia." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 187-188) Likewise, these principles are applied in China differently than in Russia. This is because each country has its own historical conditions and particular features not found in other countries. In a big semifeudal and semicolonial country like China, which is made up mostly of peasants, which takes opposition to imperialism and feudalism

as its immediate task and where social contradictions are extremely complicated, how the proletarian political party should lead its masses in carrying out the national democratic revolution and in marching toward the socialist and communist society is a difficult but special task. We can never accomplish such a task without the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory. However, we also cannot succeed by mechanically applying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. To lead a great struggle like the Chinese revolution, we must have a very creative and bold theory. Only in this way can we lead the revolution to victory. Thus, the birth of Mao Zedong Thought which has as its basic feature the combination of Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution in the course of China's new democratic revolution and the collective struggle of the party and the people is an inevitable historical phenomenon.

Combining Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution is a great task. In the history of our party, this combination was not accomplished in one move. Our party began to explore the basic issues of the Chinese revolution from its founding days to the first great revolution. In the great countryside struggle against imperialism and feudalism, Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Li Dazhao, Qu Qiubai, Cai Hesen, Deng Zhongxia, Chen Yannian and other comrades upheld the principles stand of Marxism-Leninism and integrated themselves with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong's important works such as "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" and "Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan," his call in early 1927 for the peasant self-defense corps to "march into the mountains" to "lay a military foundation," his teaching that unless revolutionary armed forces were preserved there was no way to cope with future contingencies, and so on, were the earliest manifestations of this combination. However, because our party was still very young and had only a superficial understanding of Marxism-Leninism and the reality in China, Mao Zedong Thought could not yet take shape.

The period from 1927 to the Zunyi conference in January 1935 was very important in the formation of Mao Zedong Thought. Having been tempered during the first revolutionary civil war, our party had acquired experiences of success and failure. After the failure of the great revolution and under the extreme threat of terror from the counterrevolutionaries, our party continued to hold high the banner of opposing imperialism and feudalism and led the broad masses of workers, peasants, soldiers, intellectuals and other revolutionary people in carrying out a great political, military and ideological struggle. The "August 1" Nanchang Uprising led by Zhou Enlai and other comrades fired the first shot of armed resistance against the Kuomintang. At the CCP "August 7" meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the brilliant idea of "political power growing out of the barrel of a gun." Afterward, he led the Autumn Harvest Uprising and together with Comrade Zhu De and other comrades, initiated the Jinggang Mountains revolutionary base area. A large number of the party backbone leaders went to the countryside to wage a guerrilla war and acquired new experience in setting up "armed independent regimes of workers and peasants." In those 8 years of arduous struggle, the party led the masses in resisting the offensives of the Kuomintang reactionaries and in opposing the Japanese imperialists' aggression in China after the "September 18 incident," thus greatly pushing forward the liberation of the Chinese people. In those days of "arduous struggle, to start an undertaking when numerous wars were taking place," our party, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, followed the

basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism; adhered to the basic principle of integrating theory with practice; proceeded from China's national conditions; independently probed into Marxism; used Marxist theory to solve practical problems; with tremendous political perseverance and theoretical courage, struggled against dogmatist and left adventurist mistakes committed by the Communist International, Wang Ming and others in the Chinese revolution; creatively solved a series of basic problems of the Chinese revolution, and found a correct road for the Chinese revolution of seizing political power by means of armed struggle. These were important signs of the formation of Mao Zedong Thought.

In accordance with China's actual situation, Mao Zedong and other comrades clearly noted China's social nature, social contradictions and characteristics of the Chinese revolution after the failure of the great revolution. Under extremely difficult conditions, our party shifted the focus of work from cities to the countryside and carried out the agrarian revolution war. That was a new and great change of historical significance.

The Theory of Setting Up and Developing Red Political Power Was Created, and a New Path in the Chinese Pattern of Seizing Political Power by Means of Armed Struggle Was Opened Up

This meant setting up "armed independent regimes of workers and peasants," integrating the peasant agrarian revolution under the leadership of the proletariat, carrying out armed struggle, strengthening the revolutionary base areas and developing red zones amidst the white regime. It "was the highest form of peasant struggle under the leadership of the proletariat in semicolonial China and was the inevitable outcome of the growth of peasant struggle in a semicolony." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 95) The Chinese people pinned their greatest hopes on it. It emerged in the course of the collective struggle of the party and the people with the path taken by Zhu De and Mao Zedong and by Fang Zhimin of the party and the people with the path taken by Zhu De and Mao Zedong and by Fang Zhimin of setting up base areas, building up political power in a planned way, carrying out deep-going agrarian revolution and expanding the people's armed forces as the correct representative. Later Comrade Mao Zedong generalized this path as "encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them." This was a new conclusion not found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin and was also an unprecedented undertaking in the history of the international communist movement.

During the Period From the Sanwan Reorganization to the Gutian Meeting, the Problem of the Principle for Building the Party and the Army Was Solved

The Chinese Red Army was an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and other comrades stressed the party's leadership over the army, set up party branches at the company level and corrected various kinds of nonproletarian ideas inside the party. In addition, in opposing Chiang Kai-shek's counterrevolutionary "encirclement and suppression," they created a set of strategies and tactics for guerrilla warfare and mobile warfare having the nature of guerrilla warfare. That was the key to setting up and developing the Red regime.

In His Work 'Oppose Book Worship,' Comrade Mao Zedong Put Forward for the First Time the Ideological Principle of Integrating the Basic Tenets of Marxism-Leninism With Chinese Reality

One of his famous sayings was: "The victory of the Chinese revolutionary struggle depends on Chinese comrades' understanding of China's conditions." He criticized the dogmatist mistake of some people who would say, "Show me where it's written in the book," whenever they opened their mouths, and of relying only on directives from the Communist International or from higher organs to solve practical problems of the revolution. He drew the well-known conclusion of "no investigation, no right to speak." He held that without investigation of actual situations, idealistic class estimations and idealistic work guidance would emerge. He put forward for the first time the ideological principle of integrating the basic tenets of Marxism with China's reality and stated that in our struggle it was necessary to study Marxist "books." However, the ideas in these books had to be integrated with China's reality, and it was imperative to correct "book worship" which was divorced from reality. It was precisely because Mao Zedong and other comrades persisted in integrating theory with reality and opposed "book worship" that a new path for the Chinese revolution of seizing political power by means of armed force was opened up, which guided the liberation of the Chinese people to victory.

The CCP Zunyi conference in January 1935 corrected those military and organizational mistakes of decisive importance and established Comrade Mao Zedong's leading position in the Red Army and the party's Central Committee. That was a turning point in the course of events of great historical significance. It saved the party and the Red Army and it saved the Chinese revolution. It ensured the party's victory in leading the Red Army's Long March, realized the plan of going north to resist Japanese aggression and pushed forward the struggle for liberation of the Chinese people along the road of encircling the cities from the rural areas.

II

The decade from 1935 to 1945 was a period in which the Chinese revolution acquired rich experience from failures and setbacks, continuously strengthened the revolutionary forces and prepared to seize countrywide victory. It was also an important period in which Mao Zedong Thought was increasingly enriched, and developed in all aspects and became mature. In these 10 years, our party overcame all kinds of difficulties and obstacles, set up a national front to resist Japanese aggression, went all out to mobilize the masses, expanded the people's forces and led the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army and the people's anti-Japanese armed forces independently. With the initiative in our own hands, we waged an anti-Japanese guerrilla war on an unprecedented scale, set up anti-Japanese base areas at the enemy's rear, smashed Chiang Kai-shek's anticommunist scheme and finally defeated the Japanese aggressors. Since the party already had 24 years of experience in struggle, had made repeated comparisons between the two victories and two failures and carried out a great deal of study and summarizing of problems of the Chinese revolution using the theory of Marxism-Leninism, it was able to formulate a line and a complete set of concrete policies suitable for the actual situation during

the war of resistance against Japan. Through the rectification movement throughout the party, the adoption of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in History" and the successful convening of the party's "seventh congress," the whole party became united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, and Mao Zedong Thought was generally recognized by the whole party.

1. One of the Prominent Signs of the Development and Maturity of Mao Zedong Thought Was the Founding of a Complete Theory of the New Democratic Revolution. This Was a New Contribution to the Marxist-Leninist Theory

The relation between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution were scientifically expounded. In accordance with the international environment of the Chinese revolution and the nature of the Chinese society, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the whole revolutionary movement led by the CCP, including the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, had to be divided into two stages. The first stage was new democracy and only the second stage was socialism. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The new democratic revolution is a revolution of the masses of people under the leadership of the proletariat to oppose imperialism and feudalism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 610) It no longer belonged to the category of the old world bourgeois democratic revolution but was a part of the world's proletarian socialist revolution. Its ultimate future was not capitalism but socialism and communism. New democracy and socialism were two revolutionary stages of a different nature. Only with a clear understanding of the difference and connection between the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution could we correctly lead the Chinese revolution.

The Marxist method of class analysis was creatively used to divide China's bourgeoisie into two parts. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the big bourgeoisie (bureaucratic bourgeoisie) was the running dog of imperialism and it was the target of the revolution. However, because each group of the big bourgeoisie had a different imperialist background, when the spearhead of the revolution was directed at one imperialist system, big bourgeois groups of another imperialist system might participate in the struggle against it. Therefore, we should make use of this contradiction and look upon these groups as indirect allies in order to isolate and oppose the main enemy at the time. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that in the broad national revolutionary united front, we should adopt the strategic principles of "making use of contradictions, winning over the majority, opposing the minority and destroying them one by one," and implement the strategic policies of "developing the progressive forces, winning over the forces in the middle and isolating the diehard forces." Historical facts have proved that these strategic principles are entirely correct. Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out that the Chinese national bourgeoisie was a class with a dual character. In the new democratic revolution, this made it possible for the national bourgeoisie to become an ally of the revolution but not the main force of the revolution, far less could it play the role of a leader in the revolution. Therefore, in the united front, the party should adopt the policy of both unity and struggle toward the national bourgeoisie. Addressing the erroneous ideas of "everything through the united front" and "everything to be submitted to the united front" advocated by the Communist International and Wang Ming, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that we should adhere to the party's principle of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands and implement the policy of maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands in the united front. The national struggle was thus in keeping with class struggle.

The mutual relations between the united front, armed struggle and the strengthening of the party were penetratingly expounded. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that in old China, the people lacked even the minimum democratic rights. Therefore, armed struggle was the chief form of struggle in the Chinese revolution and the army was the chief form of organization. Without armed struggle, the proletariat had no status, the people had no status, the Communist Party had no status and the revolution could not win victory. The Chinese armed struggle was a peasant revolutionary war under the leadership of the proletariat. The peasants accounted for 80 percent of the Chinese population and were the main force of the Chinese revolutionary contingent. The Chinese revolution was virtually a peasant revolution. Solving the problem of land for the peasants and liberating the peasants from feudal land relationships was the main ingredient and the foundation of the new democratic revolution. History has already proved: Armed struggle, the united front and strengthening the party were our party's three main treasures for defeating the enemy in the Chinese revolution and were also our party's three basic problems in tackling the Chinese revolution. A correct solution to these three problems and their mutual relations meant correct leadership of the whole of the Chinese revolution. Concerning this, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in a deep-going way: "The united front and armed struggle are the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy. The united front is intended to carry on armed struggle. The party is the heroic warrior wielding the two weapons, the united front and the armed struggle, to storm and shatter the enemy's positions. That is how the three are related to each other." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 576)

2. The Proletarian Military Theory Was Established. This Was Also One of the Prominent Signs of the Development and Maturity of Mao Zedong Thought

Proceeding from China's national conditions, the characteristics and laws of China's revolutionary war were scientifically analyzed. Comrade Mao Zedong stated that there were four main characteristics of China's revolutionary war: A large semicolonial country which had undergone a great revolution and whose political and economic development were disproportionate, a powerful enemy, a weak Red Army and the agrarian revolution. These characteristics determined the guidelines and many of its strategic and tactical principles. They showed that there were both favorable and difficult conditions in China's revolutionary war. "This is the fundamental law of China's revolutionary war, from which many other laws ensue. (Ibid, Vol 1, p 175)

The fundamental principle for strengthening a new-type people's army was systematically established. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 988) Inside the army, we had to set up correct relations between officers and soldiers, between higher and lower levels and among military, political and logistics work. There had to be democratic life within certain limits and military discipline with authority based on conscientious observance. Outside the army, we had to set up correct relations between the army and the people, between the army and the government and between our army and other friendly forces. In work related to the enemy army, we had to have correct policies for its disintegration and the winning over of prisoners of war. The army had to accept absolute leadership of the party. Soldiers were the foundation of the army. We had to imbue the army with progressive political spirit. Political and ideological work was the lifeline of our army.

A complete set of strategies and tactics for the people's war was created. Comrade Mao Zedong stated: "The richest source of power for waging war lies in the masses of the people." (Ibid, Vol 2, p 478) If the army and the people were united as one, we would be invincible. In the people's war, if there was only the main force, the Red Army without the people's guerrilla warfare, we would be like a one-armed general. The strategies and tactics of our army were based on the people's war. "Our strategy is 'pit 1 against 10' and our tactics are 'pit 10 against 1'--this is one of our fundamental principles for mastering the enemy. (Ibid, Vol 1, p 209) When our enemy was strong and we were weak, our army's way of fighting had to be protracted strategic war and also a war of quick decisions in campaigns and battles. We had to concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one. In the 8-year war of resistance against Japan, our army's fighting policy was basically carrying our guerrilla warfare but we seized the favorable opportunity to carry out mobile warfare. The basic characteristic of the so-called mobile warfare under favorable conditions was "fight when you can win, move away when you can't win." (Ibid, p 214) "Moving" was for the purpose of "fighting" and "fighting" was a basic point on which we established our strategic and tactical policies. In 1945, with the development of the war, at the appropriate time, our party proposed the change in military strategy from guerrilla warfare as the dominant factor to mobile and positional warfare as the dominant factors.

3. Another Sign of the Development and Maturity of Mao Zedong Thought Was the Establishment of a Sound Theory on Strengthening the Party

In China, where modern industry accounted for a very small percentage of the economy, and the proletariat accounted for a very small percentage of the population while the peasants and other petite bourgeoisie accounted for the great majority, it was an extremely difficult task to strengthen a Marxist-Leninist party. Therefore, in order to strengthen and consolidate the party organizationally, we had to stress strengthening the party ideologically before we could reach unanimity of thinking of the whole party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Ideological education is the key link to be grasped in uniting the whole party for great political struggles. Unless this is done, the party cannot accomplish any of its political tasks." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 3, p 1043) At the same time, we had to strengthen the party organizationally, adhere to democratic centralism, strictly observe the party's discipline, correctly implement the party's policy for cadres, strengthen the party's unity, eliminate unprincipled factional struggle and oppose individualism and sectarianism before we could build a centralized and united party.

In the war of resistance against Japan, our party created the form of rectification to educate the whole party in Marxism-Leninism. We adhered to the principle of integrating theory with practice, opposed subjectivism, sectarianism and stereotyped party writing, unfolded positive ideological struggle and reformed the party according to the standard of the vanguard of the proletariat. During the rectification, we also formulated policies and principles for correctly handling inner-party relations, practiced the policy of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and adopted the method of "unity-criticism-unity" so as to attain the goal of clarifying ideas and uniting comrades.

During the party's long-term struggle, especially through the rectification and the study of the party's history, the party's fine traditions and styles were established. These were mainly the style of integrating theory with practice, the style of having close ties with the masses and the style of self-criticism. These three great styles are prominent signs distinguishing our party from any other political parties.

At the party's "seventh congress" in 1945, Comrade Liu Shaoqi systematically expounded the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought, stating: "These theories are reflected in all the works of Comrade Mao Zedong and in many documents of the party." ("Report on the Revision of the Party Constitution") The congress explicitly stipulated: "The CCP takes the line of integrating Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong Thought, as the guide for all its work." ("The CCP Constitution") The "seventh congress" was one of unity and victory. It made extremely important preparations for our party to strive for countrywide victory of the revolution.

III

The period between 1946 and 1957 saw brilliant victories unprecedented in the history of the Chinese revolution. It was also a period during which Mao Zedong Thought continued to develop and win great victories through a new course of practice. During this period, our party, guided by Mao Zedong Thought, led the Chinese people to wage the unprecedented liberation war, to win a complete victory of the new democratic revolution, to found the people's new China, to successfully realize the change from new democracy to socialism, to fundamentally complete the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production and to theoretically and practically fulfill the arduous task of building the socialist system in China, which has one-fourth of the world's population and is economically and culturally backward.

1. The People's Liberation War Was Won and a Republic Under the People's Democratic Dictatorship Founded

Revolutionary dual tactics were used to combat counterrevolutionary dual tactics. After winning the war of resistance against Japan, the Chinese people were faced with a decisive struggle between China's two destinies and two future, which meant building a bright China or a dark one. To race against time to make preparations for a civil war, Chiang Kai-shek telegraphed Comrade Mao Zedong three times, asking him to come to Chongqing for talks. At that time, Comrade Stalin told our party to hand over our weapons for a "legitimate" position in exchange. During this complicated struggle, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the policy of "giving tit for tat and fighting for every inch of land" as a countermeasure against Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary policy of "wresting every ounce of power and every ounce of grain" from the people. They firmly resisted the adverse current of "handing over our guns" in the international communist movement, pointing out that "the arms of the people, every gun and every bullet, must be kept and not handed over." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong, Vol 4, p 1107") After Chiang Kai-shek's scheme of fraudulent peace had gone bankrupt, the KMT reactionaries, counting on their temporarily superior forces, waged a countrywide reactionary civil war. Facing the fierce-looking KMT reactionaries, who were

supported by U.S. imperialism and armed to the teeth, Comrade Mao Zedong showed the boldness of a proletarian revolutionary and put forward the famous thesis that "Chiang Kai-shek and his supporters, the U.S. reactionaries, are all paper tigers too." (Ibid, p 1139) He confidently pointed out: Judging from a long-term point of view, the really powerful forces do not belong to the reactionaries but rather to the people; history will finally prove that our millet plus rifles are more powerful than Chiang Kai-shek's airplanes plus tanks. While stressing that strategically it was necessary to despise the enemy, he asked the whole party and the whole army to tactically take the enemy seriously, to aim at wiping out the enemy's effective strength and, in every campaign, to concentrate superior forces many times outnumbering the enemy forces and to completely encircle the enemy without allowing any escape from the net of encirclement so that the PLA, which was temporarily in an inferior position, might grow stronger and stronger through fighting. This superb art of daring to win and knowing how to struggle reflected the vivid application and development of the Marxist strategic and tactical thinking.

The theory of launching a strategic offensive was created to guide a decisive strategic battle to victory. After our army smashed Chiang Kai-shek's all-out offensive against places of strategic importance in the liberated areas, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong commanded the PLA to resolutely launch a strategic offensive and spread the war to areas under KMT control. On 30 June 1947, our mighty army units led by Liu Bocheng and Deng Xiaoping fought their way across the Huang He and marched toward the Dabie Mountains, thereby raising the curtain on the PLA's strategic offensive. Chen Geng and others led the Taiyue army corps to boldly drive on to western Henan. Another mighty army led by Chen Yi and Su Yu pressed onward to southwestern Shandong and the Henan-Anhui-Jiangsu borders. Along these three routes our army fought on the exterior lines and swept through the length and breadth of the Chang Jiang, Huaihe, and Huang He and Hanshui basins, shaking the KMT reactionary rule to the roots. The three major campaigns, that is, the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, the Huai-Hai campaign and the Beijing-Tianjin campaign, launched between September 1948 and January 1949 were unprecedented decisive strategic battles and were followed by our army's countrywide advance, in which our army conducted strategic operations of pursuing and wiping out enemy forces. Under the correct commands of Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Peng Dehuai, our army fought like a fierce tiger and was irresistible on every battlefield, drawing a spectacular picture of the entire strategic offensive of the Chinese people's liberation war. The 10 major principles of military affairs formulated in the course of the heroic people's war and the theory of strategic offensive summed up by Comrade Mao Zedong added new weapons to the treasure house of the Marxist-Leninist military theories.

The people's new China was founded under the guidance of the theory of the people's democratic dictatorship. After the people's liberation war had come to the stage of strategic offensive, the party's policies became the key to winning a countrywide victory of the revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong emphatically pointed out: "Only when all the policies and tactics of the party are on the correct path will it be possible for the Chinese revolution to win victory." (Ibid, p 1241) He drafted a number of documents for the party, summarizing the general line and policy concerning the new democratic revolution and the agrarian reform and focusing utmost attention on directing party organizations to correct the "leftist" mistakes in

carrying out the party's policies during the revolutionary upsurge. These documents not only guaranteed the triumphant development of the revolution but also enriched and developed the theory of Mao Zedong Thought on the new democratic revolution. With our army's victory in the decisive strategic battle, the main force with which Chiang Kai-shek launched the counterrevolutionary civil war was wiped out. The KMT reactionary clique attempted to stage a comeback. Instigated by U.S. imperialism, it again practiced the fraudulent peace. In this situation, the question of whether the revolution should be carried through to the end or be given up halfway was placed conspicuously before the party and the people. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "We must use the revolutionary method to wipe out all the forces of reaction resolutely, thoroughly, wholly and completely; we must unswervingly persist in overthrowing imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism; and we must overthrow the reactionary rule of the KMT on a countrywide scale and set up a republic that is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1266) He called on people of the whole country to carry the revolution through to the end and put forward the theory of a people's democratic dictatorship, thereby correctly guiding the whole party, the whole army and the people of the entire country to completely wipe out the counterrevolutionary armed forces, to thoroughly smash the Chiang Kai-shek clique's reactionary state machinery and to establish the national government under the people's democratic dictatorship. The establishment of this government was a concentrated expression of the fruits which the Chinese people had gained in their revolutionary struggle. It also opened a new road for the socialist revolution in China. Later, in his report to the 2d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee, he demonstrated that with the winning of a countrywide victory, the party should shift the focus of its work from the countryside to the cities and laid down the fundamental policy for the party's political, economic and diplomatic work after the countrywide victory. Then, in his article "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," he summed up the fundamental experience of the Chinese revolution and concentrated it into one point, "that is, the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." (Ibid, p 1417) He said that the people's democratic dictatorship meant democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries. He also pointed out: There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic. These expositions enriched and developed the Marxist theory on the proletarian dictatorship.

2. The Great Change From New Democracy to Socialism Was Successfully Accomplished

In light of the economic and political conditions created by the victory of the new democratic revolution, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the guiding ideology of making preparations in 3 years and carrying out planned economic construction in a decade. Conditions were complicated and all tasks had to be undertaken during the initial period after the founding of the new China. Vigorous efforts were made to restore and develop production, and the masses were organized to directly participate in the drive to change the old relations of production and emancipate productive forces. At the 3d Plenary Session of the 7th CCP Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the program "fight for a fundamental turn for the better in the nation's financial and

economic situation," aimed at restoring our country's national economy. He also laid down the party's strategic and tactical policy of "do not hit out in all directions," a policy for steadily accomplishing revolutionary change. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, the army and the people waged the earth-shaking war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, carried out a mighty agrarian reform movement in the newly liberated areas inhabited by 300 million people, and launched a countrywide mass campaign to suppress counterrevolutionaries. After systematically taking measures to confiscate bureaucrat-capital enterprises, to crack down on speculation and profiteering, to stabilize market prices, to readjust industry and commerce and to put the socialist state sector of the national economy in a leading position, they launched the movement against "three evils" as well as the movement against "five evils" to repulse the frenzied attack of the bourgeoisie, and put the capitalist industry and commerce onto the path of state capitalism subordinate to the socialist state sector of the national economy and under the supervision of the working class. Subsequently, in only 3 years, we not only healed the serious wounds caused by the long years of war, restored the national economy and pushed it above the highest level before the liberation war but also organically combined the thorough-going completion of the tasks of the democratic revolution with the preparation for the countrywide socialist transformation and construction, thereby adding a brilliant chapter to the history of the development of Marxism-Leninism.

3. A Path of Socialist Transformation Suitable to China's Characteristics Was Creatively Opened Up

In the course of planning a revolutionary change, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong closely watched the change in the relations between cities and the countryside and the development of principal contradictions in our country. Based on Lenin's theory of transition and their own practical experience, they promptly laid down the policy of simultaneously carrying out socialist construction and transformation and put forward the general line of gradually accomplishing the country's socialist industrialization and the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce for the transition period. This general line reflected the inevitability of historical development. On the road to socialist transformation, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, working with utmost efforts, first led the 500 million peasants to get organized and accomplish the socialist transformation in agriculture. Thanks to the party's correct principles and policies and reasonable steps, an upsurge of socialist transformation emerged very quickly in the vast countryside, the peasant masses embarked on the road to becoming well-off together, and the arduous task of socialist transformation in agriculture was fundamentally completed in a few years. In transforming capitalist industry and commerce and in view of the fact that China's capitalism had been deprived of its main body, that is, bureaucrat capital, after the triumph of the democratic revolution, and that the Chinese national bourgeoisie still had a dual character during the period of transition from new democracy to socialism, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the policy of "utilizing, restricting and transforming" the capitalist industry and commerce and found that "state capitalism is the only road for the transformation of capitalist industry and commerce and for the gradual completion of the transition to socialism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 98) In the course of practice, they also formulated a number of reasonable

steps for transforming state capitalism from a lower to a higher level, such as the state's placing orders with private enterprises for processing of materials or manufactured goods, a state monopoly on purchase and marketing, selling of goods for the state on a commission basis and joint state-private management of enterprises, and adopted the policy of peaceful "redemption" for acquiring the means of production owned by the national bourgeoisie. Subsequently, our country was able to triumphantly accomplish the historical task of transforming the capitalist economy under the conditions of having very few social upheavals and to rather smoothly remold the majority of exploiters into socialist laborers who could earn their own living. Thus, the idea of redeeming the bourgeoisie as put forth by Marx and Lenin was realized in China for the first time. This was a great achievement in the history of socialism in China and the world and a splendid victory of Mao Zedong Thought.

4. A New Way for Socialist Construction Suitable to Our Country's Conditions Was Explored

While directing the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong clearly pointed out that the purpose of the socialist transformation was to increase productivity and accomplish the country's industrialization. Comrade Mao Zedong said in his address to the first NPC: "We should gird ourselves to build our country, which is at present economically and culturally backward, into a great industrialized country with a high standard of modern culture in the course of several 5-year plans." (Ibid, p 133) Later, when the party national conference discussed the first 5-year plan, he stressed: "What we have set out to accomplish, think about and dig into is socialist industrialization, socialist transformation and the modernization of our national defenses." (Ibid, p 144) Under the direct guidance of the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong, our country achieved brilliant results in carrying out the first 5-year plan of developing its national economy. In April 1956, in his speech entitled "On the 10th Major Relationships," Comrade Mao Zedong, drawing lessons from the Soviet Union, summed up our country's experience in economic construction. Bearing in mind the fact that ours was a big agricultural country, he pointed out that the relationship between heavy industry on the one hand and light industry and agriculture on the other should be properly handled, agriculture should be taken as the basis of developing the national economy, and China should develop industry in its own way. During the Eighth National Party Congress, Comrades Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping made important reports and Comrade Chen Yun delivered an important speech, correctly analyzing the new changes in the relationship between various classes in our country, pointing out that in our country the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie had been basically resolved and that the major task for the people of the whole country during the new period was to develop the productive forces, and confirming that the focus of the party's work should be shifted to socialist construction. In February 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong delivered a speech entitled "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" to the Supreme State Conference. He put forward the theory of correctly distinguishing and handling the two types of qualitatively different social contradictions and demonstrated that correctly handling the contradictions among the people for the purpose of uniting the people of the whole country to

develop our country's economy and culture had become the main theme of our country's political life. He said: "Our basic task has changed from unfettering the productive forces to protecting and expanding them in the context of the new relations of production." (Ibid, p 377) To correctly handle the contradictions among the people and build socialism, it is necessary to adopt the political policies of "unity-criticism-unity," "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend" and the economic policies of giving overall consideration and making proper arrangements. The documents of the Eighth National Party Congress and Comrade Mao Zedong's new achievements in his theories and policies carried in his works mentioned above are brilliant records of the triumphant development of Mao Zedong Thought. They are still playing an important role as our guide.

In the course of all-round socialist construction in our country, the theory of strengthening democratic centralism in the party and the task of carrying out technical revolution as put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong and the great blueprints of building a powerful modern socialist country as drawn up by Comrade Zhou Enlai are of vital significance for our party in probing into the laws of socialist construction.

IV

While China was carrying out revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied dialectical materialism and historical materialism to the whole of our party's work and formulated some scientific methods of thinking, work and leadership. His important works, including "On Practice," "On Contradictions," "Reform Our Study," "Rectify the Party's Work Style," "Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing," "Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership" and "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From?" intensively reflect his ideology in this aspect. To sum up, his ideology comprises the basic points of seeking truth from facts, taking the mass line, maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts.

1. Seeking Truth From Facts

During the 1930's, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out the necessity to oppose book worship, to proceed from reality and to link theory with reality. He stressed that investigation and study are the first step of all work. He said: "No investigation, no right to speak." In summing up the experiences and lessons of the Chinese revolution, many of his works, especially his philosophical works, penetratingly discussed and enriched the Marxist theory of knowledge and dialectics. He repeatedly pointed out that a correct understanding can often be arrived at only after many repetitions of the process leading from matter to consciousness and then back to matter, that is, leading from practice to knowledge and then back to practice. He elucidated and elaborated the core of dialectics--the law of unity of opposites. In his important works on questions of the Chinese revolutionary war, he furnished brilliant examples of applying and developing the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge and dialectics in the course of practice. Our party persists in the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, making investigations, testing truth through practice and developing truth in the course of practice. For this reason, it dares to throw away the principles and conclusions unsuitable to China's conditions and replaces them with new principles

and conclusions suitable to China's conditions, thereby successfully creating the great cause of Sinicizing Marxism-Leninism and turning it into an invincible weapon for the Chinese people.

2. Taking the Mass Line

The people are the makers of history. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the people, and the people alone, are the motive force in making world history. We must do everything for the people, trust them, rely on them and form one with them, and only thus can we surmount any difficulty, and no enemy can crush us. Therefore, we should establish the viewpoint of trusting that the people can emancipate themselves and the viewpoint of learning from the people. In doing our work, we should uphold the scientific Marxist-Leninist method of leadership of "practice, knowledge, again practice and again knowledge," "from the masses and back to the masses," "combining the general with the particular" and "combining the leaders and the masses." In this way, it will be possible to integrate the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge with the method of leadership of taking the mass line. This is a scientific summary of our party's historical experience gained in the long course of revolutionary struggles. This is also a unique achievement made by the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong in applying Marxism-Leninism.

3. Maintaining Independence, Keeping the Initiative in Our Own Hands and Relying on Our Own Efforts

Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We stand for self-reliance. We hope for foreign aid but cannot be dependent on it; we depend on our own efforts, on the creative power of the whole army and the entire people." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 965) In a big country like ours, we must mainly depend on our own efforts and self-reliantly develop our revolution and construction. We must be determined to fight through to the end and trust and rely on the Chinese people's wisdom and strength. We must preserve our national pride and confidence and must never act servilely. Over the past few decades, our party has persistently displayed the spirit of maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and relying on our own efforts, so that we have had the spirit to fight the enemy to the last drop of our blood and the ability to stand on our own feet in the family of nations.

These three basic points represent the application and development of Marxism-Leninism under China's conditions and are a precious spiritual wealth of our party and state.

However, a most regrettable thing was that during his last years, Comrade Mao Zedong made more and more serious mistakes in theory and practice regarding class struggle in a socialist society and appreciated and encouraged the cult of personality, thus gradually harming the party's democratic centralism and the people's democracy. Conspirators like Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and Kang Sheng made use of these mistakes with ulterior motives. Eventually, this led to the decade-long internal strife in the name of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and brought a great misfortune to the party and people. These mistakes were contrary to the scientific theories of

Mao Zedong Thought. They should definitely be separated from Mao Zedong Thought. For the same reason, the theories and policies, such as the theory of the struggle against hegemonism and the theory of the three worlds, which were put forward by Comrade Mao Zedong during his last years and were proven correct in practice, should be incorporated in the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought. This is the materialist attitude of seeking truth from facts. At the same time, we hold that the scientific principles of Mao Zedong Thought represent a major development, and not an all-round development, of the Marxist-Leninist theories, and still less should they be regarded as the third milestone. This is also the materialist attitude of seeking truth from facts.

The new period of upholding and developing Mao Zedong Thought began with the downfall of the "gang of four," especially after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The various strategic policy decisions, such as shifting the focus of the party's work to the socialist modernization, made by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee constitute a historic change of the most far-reaching significance effected by our party since the founding of new China. This change indicates the correctness of full-scale restoration and reestablishment of Marxism-Leninism in our party ideologically, politically and organizationally. The party Central Committee leads the whole party in starting to seriously correct the leftist mistakes made in all aspects before and during the "Great Cultural Revolution." It has resolutely corrected the erroneous policy of the "two whatevers." While making efforts to eliminate chaos and restore order on all fronts, it has reiterated the necessity to uphold the four basic principles and repeatedly emphasized that the stance, viewpoint and method of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought must be applied in studying the new conditions and solving the new problems emerging in the course of practice. We must take a correct approach to the historical position held by Comrade Mao Zedong and the great contributions made by Mao Zedong Thought to the Marxist-Leninist theories. In no way should we negate the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought on the grounds that Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes during his last years. It is incorrect to adopt a dogmatist attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought. It is also wrong to adopt a nihilist attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought. We should always take Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party and state and firmly uphold the four basic principles, so that our country will continue to press ahead along the revolutionary path opened by Comrade Mao Zedong and the proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation.

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THE SEVENTH PLENARY SESSION OF THE SIXTH CCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE 'RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY'

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[Article by Yu Xishan [0151 3556 1472]]

[Text] Summing up historical experience is our party's fine tradition. It is through the continuous summarization experience that our party raises its Marxist-Leninist theoretical level. Today, on the eve of the 60th founding anniversary of the CCP and when the whole party is seriously summing up historical experience since the founding of our country, it is of great significance to review the history of the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee and the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" it adopted.

I

The enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was held at Yang Jialing, Yanan. It opened on 21 May 1944 and closed on 20 April 1945. This was the first plenary session of the CCP Central Committee held since the Communist International was disbanded. It was attended by 17 members and alternate members of the Central Committee and 12 responsible comrades from different central bureaus and subbureaus or from other organs (who had the right to speak and vote at the session). The session mainly discussed and adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" which paved the way for convening the "seventh congress."

The session elected a presidium made up of Mao Zedong, Zhu De, Liu Shaoqi, Ren Bishi and Zhou Enlai and elected Mao Zedong as chairman of the CCP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee. The session decided that during the session, the Secretariat and the Political Bureau would cease functioning and the Presidium would handle the routine work.

The Seventh Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee held eight plenary meetings in 11 months.

The first meeting on 21 May 1944 elected the presidium, listened to the work report given by Comrade Mao Zedong on behalf of the Political Bureau, adopted the agenda for the "seventh congress" and decided on who would give reports at the

congress. It also decided that the "political report" to be given by Comrade Mao Zedong was to be discussed by the Presidium and all participants of the session, and along with it, the military report, the revised party program and report on problems concerning the party's history were to be drafted by four separate committees to be set up.

The meeting on 5 June discussed the problem of work in cities and after the meeting, the "CCP Central Committee's instructions on work in cities" was issued.

The meeting on 9 November discussed the problem of negotiations between Comrade Mao Zedong and Patrick Hurley, personal representative of U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

At the meeting on 7 December and on 18 February 1945, Comrade Zhou Enlai reported on the two negotiations meetings he had attended in Chongqing.

The meeting on 9 December 1944 discussed the problem of setting up a liberation committee.

The meeting on 31 March 1945 discussed and approved the "political report" which was to be given at the "seventh congress" and the draft of the party program which was to be submitted to the "seventh congress" for discussion.

The last meeting on 20 April 1945 approved the "military report" which was to be given at the "seventh congress"; adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party"; and approved the list of candidates for the Presidium and for the credentials committee and the agenda of the "seventh congress."

II

The last meeting on 20 April 1945 unanimously adopted the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party." Wang Ming was absent because of illness but he wrote a letter to the session expressing his support.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" (hereinafter called the "Resolution on History") was one of the major documents adopted at this session and it was formulated on the basis of the Yanan rectification movement. Left deviationist and right deviationist mistakes occurred on several occasions in our party's history. Left adventurism represented by Wang Ming, which lasted from the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee at the beginning of 1931 to the time before the Zunyi meeting at the end of 1934, exerted the deepest influence on and brought the greatest losses to the party. In order to unify the thinking of the whole party and to win victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression the CCP Central Committee led the whole party in carrying out a rectification movement which had great historical significance. As early as in February 1939, the CCP Central Committee especially set up the department of education for cadres to lead and organize the study movement of the whole party. In September 1941, the CCP Central Committee set up senior study groups to organize the party's senior cadres to study the thinking methods of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin and the history of the 20 years since the founding of our party. At the same time, in September 1941, the Political Bureau of the

CCP Central Committee held an enlarged meeting to examine the party's historical political line, especially during the second revolutionary civil war period. Face-to-face criticism was carried out and many comrades who had committed mistakes made preliminary self-criticisms. Through this meeting, the party's senior cadres came to the same understanding on some major problems of the Chinese revolution. After the meeting, in accordance with the discussions at the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a "draft of the conclusion on the Central Committee's line of leadership since the fourth plenary session" (this draft was not made public). "Since the 6th CCP Central Committee--Inner-Party Secret Documents" and "Before the 6th CCP Central Committee--the Party's Historical Material" edited under the direction of Comrade Mao Zedong were published respectively in December 1941 and December 1942, which provided systematic study and research material for the rectification movement. After the rectification movement was carried out universally throughout the whole party from 1942 to 1943, senior cadres carried on further study beginning from October 1943. At this stage, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee held several enlarged meetings to discuss the party's entire history, in particular, the history from 1931 to the end of 1934. At the same time, comrades who had worked in revolutionary base areas or in the Chinese workers-peasants Red Army were invited to participate in discussions on the party's history. Half a year later, the enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was held.

At the very beginning of the session, a special committee with Ren Bishi as the convener and Liu Shaoqi, Zhou Enlai, Bo Gu, Luo Fu and three others as its members was set up to draft and revise the "Resolution on History." The "Resolution on History" was revised no less than eight times during the session and the draft was submitted three times to the session. Each time it was first thoroughly revised by Comrade Mao Zedong.

Through 6 years of study, exchange of views and discussions, our party's senior cadres had a unanimous or deeper understanding of many major historical problems. Some problems were finally made clear only at the 7th plenary session. The main problems were: The 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee was "totally wrong"; the political line from the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee to the Zunyi meeting was "a new 'leftist' line"; the booklet "Struggle To Make the CCP Become More Bolshevik" written by Wang Ming was "basically an entirely erroneous general program of 'leftist' opportunism to 'oppose right deviation.'" It was precisely because unanimous views on these important problems were reached that the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party" was able to take shape.

It was originally intended to submit the "Resolution on History" to the "seventh congress" for discussion and adoption. Therefore, the first meeting of the 7th plenary session listed it as an item on the agenda of the "seventh congress." Why was it then discussed and adopted at the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee? The reason was that in so doing the "seventh congress" could concentrate on discussing the policy for the war of resistance against aggression and for the construction of the country. In his speech at the meeting on 21 March, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Comrades of the 7th plenary session should persuade the representatives (with good reasons and with a good attitude) to have the sensibility of entrusting the 7th plenary session with resolving historical

problems so that they could concentrate their efforts on the tasks of resisting aggression and building the country. Historical mistakes of the past were mainly social phenomena. They were due to our party's lack of maturity. The reason why some comrades committed mistakes was because they were not conscious and believed themselves to be correct. So they wanted to overthrow everything inside and outside the party. Now everybody has become conscious and our thinking is, in the main, unanimous. Wang Ming has recently written a letter agreeing to oppose the Kuomintang reactionaries and unite the whole party. That is very good. If we use the congress as a means to solve historical problems, it will certainly take 2 to 3 weeks and will distract people's attention from the central targets. Even then the result obtained will not be better than the present draft." In accordance with this, the meeting on 31 March decided to submit the "Resolution on History" to the following meeting of the 7th plenary session for discussion and adoption after all representatives (i.e., representatives assembled at Yanan ready to take part in the "seventh congress") had agreed to do so. At the meeting on 20 April, Comrade Ren Bishi also said: "Since the last meeting, we have received decisions from all delegations expressing their unanimous view of entrusting the 7th plenary session with the task of solving the party's historical problems so that the congress could concentrate its strength on discussing current problems."

III

The "Resolution on History" was an important historical document adopted at the 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee. It condensed the collective wisdom of the whole party and is shining with the brilliance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. The "Resolution on History" summed up in detail historical lessons since the founding of the party, especially during the period from the beginning of 1931 to the end of 1934. It systematically and comprehensively elaborated on the historical background, contents and political, military, organizational and ideological manifestation as well as its development, consequences, social origins and policies for correcting the leftist mistakes occurring on several occasions in history, especially those represented by Wang Ming. The "Resolution on History" not only played an inestimable role at that time in uniting the whole party to win total victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and the complete liberation of the Chinese people, but also plays an important role today in guiding our thinking and actions. The main ideas presented in this resolution were as follows:

1. The "Resolution on History" highly appraised Comrade Mao Zedong's outstanding contributions in making use of Marxist-Leninist theory to solve problems of the Chinese revolution and pointed out the great significance in establishing the leading role of Comrade Mao Zedong. The "Resolution on History" said: "What is particularly worth rejoicing is that the thinking represented by Comrade Mao Zedong of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution has been greatly developed in the past 10 years. Our party finally established Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership in the Central Committee and the whole party in the past period of the agrarian revolution. That was the greatest achievement of the CCP in that period and was the greatest guarantee for the liberation of the Chinese people."

Although the correct leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong over the Red Army was re-established at the Zunyi meeting, quite a number of people still had doubts, lacked confidence and even opposed him. For example, during the period from the Zunyi meeting to the Huili meeting, many people expressed their doubts and dissatisfaction toward Comrade Mao Zedong's flexible strategy and tactics. At Maoergai, Zhang Guotao enthusiastically held meetings with military governors in a vain attempt to usurp the leadership of the CCP Central Committee. At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Wang Ming telegraphed from Wuhan to Yanan forbidding Yanan to use the name of the Central Committee in issuing documents and sending telegrams. They seriously interfered with the implementation of the correct line and caused heavy losses to the party. Only through the rectification and meetings of senior cadres was the whole party truly united on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought.

The "Resolution on History" showed with a large number of historical facts that at each historical stage of the new democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth and put into practice the correct line, principles and policies. At each critical moment of the revolution, he resisted the interference of the erroneous ideas and saved the revolution. These historical facts have shown that Comrade Mao Zedong was a worthy leader universally recognized by the whole party. As soon as the whole party recognized their true leader and conscientiously supported him, a tremendous strength was generated and a strong unity and unification of the whole party was achieved. Therefore, the "Resolution on History" stated with full confidence: "The enlarged 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee has rejoicingly pointed out: After various kinds of successes and setbacks, our party has finally reached for the first time the present state of a high degree of ideological, political, organizational and military consolidation and unity under the leadership of Mao Zedong. This is a party that will soon win victory and a party that is invincible."

2. In summing up our party's mistakes in history, especially in summing up lessons of the "leftist" mistakes, the "Resolution on History" concentrated on analyzing the social roots of the mistakes, stressed the importance of overcoming the petite bourgeois ideas inside the party and pointed out that the petite bourgeois ways of thinking are mainly manifested in observing problems subjectively and one-sidedly, taking one's subjective desires, feelings and empty talk for reality, one-sidedness for all-sidedness, a portion for a whole and a tree for a forest. The political tendency of the petite bourgeoisie is usually and easily manifested as vacillation first to the left and then to the right. When the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are divided, it is prone to commit left deviationist mistakes and when the bourgeoisie and the proletariat are combined, it is prone to commit the right deviationist mistakes. The tendency of the petite bourgeois organizational life is easily manifested as individualism and factionalism which are divorced from the masses.

In discussing the "Resolution on History," Comrade Chen Yi said that what was most difficult to correct in the work in the enemy's rear areas was the leftist mistakes. This was also true of mistakes in the party's history. They were all "leftist" ones except the two mistakes made by adhering to Chen Duxiu's doctrine (the second mistake was the right deviationist mistake committed by Wang Ming during the war of resistance against the Japanese aggression). The reason why these kinds of

"leftist" mistakes could prevail on several occasions was that they were supported. Many people liked to do things in a big way and not in a small way. Young comrades who had been admitted into the party after the war of resistance against Japanese aggression started were too enthusiastic and were not very objective. This was quite similar to the mistakes we committed in the recent past.

3. The "Resolution on History" stressed adhering to the principle of "learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones and curing the sickness to save the patient" and "understanding the mistakes fully and uniting with comrades who committed them." The "Resolution on History" pointed out that the left or right deviationist mistakes on each occasion were not accidental but the outcome of specific social and historical conditions. In order to overcome these erroneous ideas, we should not act rashly nor should we act with undue haste. We should patiently conduct thorough and painstaking education in Marxism and Leninism and unfold criticism and self-criticism. In the past struggle against the doctrines of Chen Duxiu and Li Lisan, we did not thoroughly and ideologically make clear the nature and root causes of the mistakes, nor did we appropriately point out ways to correct them. Instead, we overstressed personal responsibility and thought that the problem would be solved simply by cracking down on the person who had committed the mistake. As a result, the same mistake was repeated. The "Resolution on History" stressed that we should take an analytical attitude toward comrades who have committed mistakes and should not negate everything. "Of the views of comrades who have committed mistakes, not all are wrong. Some of their views on opposing imperialism and feudalism, on the agrarian revolution, on the war against Chiang Kai-shek, and so on are the same as those of comrades advocating the correct line." Therefore, we should treat these comrades warmly and sincerely, unite with them and work together with them. "If he has realized and begun to correct his mistakes, we should welcome him without any prejudice and unite with him so that he can work for the party. Even if a comrade has not yet fully realized and corrected his mistakes but no longer persists in his mistakes, we should adopt a sincere and comradely attitude in helping him to realize and correct his mistakes."

At the plenary session on 31 March 1945, many comrades stressed that as soon as comrades who had committed mistakes had corrected them or no longer persisted in them, we should not quibble over old scores. Comrade Zhu De said: "Our representatives are highly interested in old scores but they do not go deep into political reports. We should draw their attention to this. Some people say that if the old ones are not clarified, nothing new can emerge. "However, new things have already emerged and if we still quibble over the past, I am afraid that the old ones cannot be clarified and the new things will be overlooked. We must guard against this." Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Not bringing up old scores is of course not a slogan. Summing up experience can also be considered as bringing up old scores. But when we bring up old scores, we should not do it in the same way as did the peasants in forcing the landlords to reduce land rent and interest on loans and in bringing up old scores to overthrow them." In the report on the work policy for the "seventh congress" made on 21 April 1945 at the preparatory meeting for the "seventh congress," Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "The work

policy for the congress is unity and victory. The congress should look forward to the future and not back at the past. Otherwise, the success of the congress will be affected. The congress should have the 400 million people in mind in organizing our ranks." Therefore, the "Resolution on History" stressed: "The task of the whole party from now on is to strengthen unity on the basis of clarifying our thinking and adhering to principle in the way stated in clause 2 of this resolution: 'Uniting all comrades of the party as a harmonious family and as a solid rod of steel to struggle for ultimate victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and for the complete liberation of the Chinese people' All analyses, criticisms and controversies concerning inner-party history should proceed from unity and end in unity. If we violate this principle, we are not correct."

The 7th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee successfully attained unity of thinking of the whole party so that the whole party united closely around the CCP Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong and was fully prepared for achieving new and greater victories.

CSO: 4004/124

STEADILY DEVELOP NATIONALITIES EDUCATION IN THE COURSE OF READJUSTMENT

Beijing P- LAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 36-38

[Article by Zang Boping [5258 0130 1627]]

[Text] Thirty-two years since nationwide liberation, under the leadership and care of the party Central Committee and the State Council, and owing to the all-out support of the broad masses and the strenuous efforts of students and teaching staff, minority nationality education has been significantly developed. This development is not limited to primary and middle school education to meet the revolutionary and construction requirements of the minority nationality regions; a large number of institutes of higher learning including 10 minority nationality colleges have been established, and this has led to the initial formulation of the minority nationality education system. In 1980, minority nationality students studying in different types of schools in the whole of China totaled 9.7 million; compared to the 1951 figure of 990,000; this was an increase by 8.8 times. Owing to the development of schools of different categories and different levels, a new contingent of intellectuals is being created among the minority nationalities, and the scientific and cultural level of the minority nationality people is being raised. In the country's 10 minority nationality colleges alone, and up to 1979, more than 97,000 cadres and specialized professional cadres of various nationalities had been trained. This accounts for more than 10 percent of the minority nationality nonproduction cadres throughout the country, and many of them are in leading bodies of party and government organs at various levels. In addition, the ranks of minority nationality teachers, who are dedicated to the educational cause of the party, have been built up. The total number of minority nationality teachers had grown to 463,000 by 1980. The broad masses of minority nationality teachers, along with Han nationality teachers supporting the frontier regions and minority nationality regions, have worked very hard and made great contributions to developing the educational cause of minority nationalities, and have nurtured a new generation of minority nationalities. Some groundwork has been laid for the compiling, translating and publishing of textbooks in minority nationality languages, not only in terms of quantity, but also in improving quality, and some experience has been gained in this respect.

However, minority nationality education has gone through many twists and turns. After 1958, minority nationality education work was weakened owing to the erroneous "leftist" ideological influence on educational work and on minority nationality

education. Particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution," Lin Biao and the "gang of four" wreaked even greater destruction on minority nationality education. Among the 10 minority nationality colleges in China, 8 of them were ordered dissolved or closed down one after the other. Minority nationality middle and primary schools were reduced or amalgamated, and this occurred most frequently. Large numbers of cadres and teachers who had engaged in minority nationality work for many years were attacked and persecuted. Minority nationality educational institutions, minority nationality language teaching, the development of minority nationality language textbooks and the institutions for compiling and translating also suffered major setbacks. At the same time, the unrealistic proposal of "primary schooling within the village, lower schooling within the brigade, advanced schooling within the commune," also caused the already weakened minority nationality education work to suffer a serious case of "dropsy," that is to say, the number of students and schools statistically increased but the student attendance rate, the graduation rate and the quality of education dropped. In addition, various degrees of misappropriation of educational expenditures were seen in many regions, which seriously affected the development of minority nationality education.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, under the general policy of emancipating the mind, using one's brains and uniting to look forward, the erroneous "leftist" ideology has been further eliminated and the foundation for setting the minority nationality educational work to rights has been laid. Under the care of the party Central Committee and the State Council, relevant provinces and autonomous regions have taken positive measures to change step by step the present discord between minority nationality education and the four modernizations, and have quickly put forward programs for readjusting, reviving and developing minority nationality education. Many provinces and regions have made additional appropriations from funds supplied by the state and from local financial budgets to minority nationality education, subsidies to minority nationality middle and primary schools have been raised, the livelihood of the teachers at schools has improved and the management of schools has also improved. In order to train more qualified minority nationality professionals, specially selected middle schools, secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning in some regions are now conducting classes; the proportion of minority nationality students in secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning has increased. In pastoral and mountainous areas of minority nationality regions, more middle and primary boarding schools have been built. These measures will pave the way for the steady development of minority nationality education in the readjustment.

Historical practice tells us that only through the strict and thorough implementation of the party's nationality policy can the cause of minority nationality education be put in its proper place and achieve a steady development. A nationality develops in the course of history by a people having a common language, common territory, common economic life and shared mental outlooks. These are all manifested in a common culture. A nationality's existence is long term. The total integration of minority nationalities is something in the distant future; its realization will be a prolonged historical process, only being attained after the

extinction of classes and the state. The socialist period is the phase to equalize all nationalities and build mutual confidence, and to ensure the prosperous development of all nationalities. Any attempt to realize "the total integration of minority nationalities" at the present, and thereby negate or even exterminate nationality characteristics and nationality differences, is wishful thinking contrary to the law of history and would be an out-and-out mistake. If nationality characteristics and nationality differences were neglected in minority nationality educational work, not only would that be detrimental, but also the unity between the various nationalities would be adversely affected.

To generalize the nationality problem into a class problem was the result of the erroneous "leftist" influence, and it confused the minority nationality problem with the class problem; they are problems of entirely different domains and natures. This only served to aggravate class struggle. Class and class struggle are the internal problem of an individual nationality, while the minority nationality problem is a problem concerning different nationalities. Ours is a multinational country. The formation and existence of various nationalities has been the result of a historical evolution of thousands of years. Under socialism, the relationship between various nationalities has basically become a relationship between laboring people of various nationalities. Though contradictions can stem from the differences between the nationalities, nationality characteristics and differences actually exist among nationalities; these contradictions might also contain factors of class contradictions, however, they cannot be described simply as class contradictions. If all these were termed class contradictions without any analysis, the party's nationality policy would be bound to suffer a distortion, the unity between the nationalities would be hampered and minority nationality education would suffer greatly. We must remember this.

The general policy of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee demands that all work should proceed from reality. Therefore, the development of minority nationality education should also proceed from the reality of the minority nationality regions. The first national conference on minority nationality education pointed out that it was absolutely correct to "adopt a national policy suitable to the development and progress of the people of the various nationalities" as the basic content of minority nationality education. To make our minority nationality education an important part of China's socialist educational system, it should be fully realized that among the various minority nationalities in our country, differences not only exist in the degree of development of economy and culture, but also in life styles, in languages, in customs and habits, in religious beliefs and in mental outlooks. Therefore, the minority nationality educational policy adopted under the guidance of the general educational policy should be in line with minority nationality characteristics. Different decisions on the educational system, school management, pace of development of education, class size and class work, teachers' livelihood and the development of teaching materials, duration of schooling, arrangement and use of educational funds and so on, should be made in accordance with the actual situations.

In a populous, economically underdeveloped country like China, state support is a very important factor in the development of minority nationality education. Since most of China's minority nationalities live in remote mountainous regions, pastoral

districts and frontier regions, and owing to long oppression and exploitation by the internal and external reactionary ruling class, these regions are economically and culturally backward. Therefore, all-out support from the state and the advanced regions of the motherland are indispensable factors for the development of minority nationality education. In fact, many advanced regions of the motherland have been supplying manpower and other forms of help and support to the remote minority nationality regions, and the valuable experience thus gained should be promoted. On the other hand, we must also understand that our country, for the time being, is still in the process of economic readjustment; the level of economic development is comparatively low, and the development of minority nationality education is much like the development of any revolutionary cause and construction work. State support and assistance must be correctly integrated with the self-reliance of the minority nationality regions, with the positive factors of local enterprises and mines and of the communes and brigades in the minority nationality regions, and the initiative of the broad masses of cadres should be fully aroused. For state-run enterprises and mines and collective-run schools, the policy of "walking on two legs" should be adopted. Attention must also be paid to launching on-the-job training schools; practice since liberation has proved this to be the most valuable and effective experience.

Nationality education should be developed by using available resources and in a step-by-step manner, aimed at practical results. In one aspect, and within the field of education and among schools of different levels and categories, there is the phenomenon of a disproportional ratio. The disparity between Han education and minority nationality education is a reflection of the disproportional ratio which exists within the field of education. Minority nationality education is the weakest link on the educational front; a process aimed at its revival is necessary. In another aspect, proceeding from the current economic base of our country and the local regions, a general policy for steady development in the course of readjustment should be adopted for the recovery and advancement of minority nationality education. It is also necessary to strictly respect and fully protect the rights of nationalities; there must be equality in politics, economy, culture and education. We can neither simply copy methods from the Han nationality regions nor resort to the solution of driving a knife between nationalities. The party's educational policy should be fully carried out in the course of readjustment. We must grasp the essential points, grasp quality, and aim for effectiveness. The training of professionals should be in accordance with actual conditions. The correct balancing of quantity and quality, popularization and elevation, the general and specific should each proceed on the local level, and this process should advance solidly and steadily in the course of readjustment. Minority nationality regions should earnestly carry out "the decision on certain problems of the popularization of primary education" issued by the party Central Committee and the State Council. Proceeding from each locality's actual situation, a realistic, feasible plan dedicated to the gradual popularization of national elementary education should be formulated. The "dropsy" phenomenon and the problem of formalism should be solved. For primary and middle school education in remote mountainous regions, frontier regions and pastoral districts, schools should be run in a manner suitable to local characteristics; and efforts must be directed on a selected basis to organize and manage a number of minority nationality middle and primary schools and middle and primary boarding schools, so as to ensure the quality of education

and a supply of trained people and to ensure that the investment in education produces results. In the few regions where education and culture are well founded, it is imperative to emphasize the improvement of the quality of education by popularizing and effectively running primary and middle schools. To train qualified personnel to meet the requirements of the four modernizations, minority nationality colleges in various regions and secondary vocational schools and institutions of higher learning in autonomous regions should be run efficiently.

The question of qualified teaching staff is the weakest link in minority nationality education. Owing to the influence of the erroneous "leftist" ideology, many teachers were attacked during successive political movements and, as a result, there are many leftover problems. Hence, the party's policy on intellectuals should be thoroughly carried out. So as to stabilize the teaching ranks, the treatment of teachers both politically and economically should be improved. At the same time, other steps should be taken to train minority nationality teachers. Various problems found among teachers in the collective-run schools should be solved in earnest. Especially after the institution of agricultural production responsibility systems, problems regarding rations and livelihood should be tackled in accordance with the conditions of each region. Plans should be developed to train teachers for collective-run schools, and their political and professional standards should be raised step by step.

We are running socialist schools--we must train teachers who are both Red and expert. At present, we must keep in mind the reality of students being in schools of different levels and different standards in the minority nationality regions, and strengthen ideological and political education, especially insisting on education on the four basic principles, on dialectical materialism, on patriotism and on unity among the nationalities. We must train each student to be a socialist new man who possesses ideals and morals and who is cultured and physically fit.

Ours is a great, multinational socialist country. Each and every nationality has contributed to the development of China's glorious thousands year-old culture. The anti-imperialist and antifeudalist revolutionary struggle has cemented the fate of all nationalities; with their lives and blood, they have protected the motherland. We have in the past, through education, trained large numbers of minority nationality cadres in various fields. Under the leadership of the party, and taking these comrades as the backbone and relying on the broad masses of people, the great tasks of democratic reform and socialist transformation in minority nationality regions have been accomplished with comparative ease, the economy and culture of various regions have also advanced. To build socialism, we still need to devote great effort to training large numbers of minority nationality cadres in various fields, especially large numbers of scientific, technical and management personnel; to work for the prosperity of minority nationality regions and minority nationality cultures, and for the successive eradication of inequality, which in fact does exist between nationalities, and for the continual strengthening of unity among the nationalities. The steady advancement of minority nationality education and the elevation of minority nationality education to its proper level involves not only the problem of scientific and cultural development and the economic prosperity of minority regions, but also, more importantly, the realization of the four modernizations and the fate of all minority nationalities. Hence, all party members must grasp the strengthening of education, and on the basis of readjustment, strive for the active and steady advancement of minority nationality education.

STUDY ECONOMIC THEORY IN LIGHT OF ACTUAL CONDITIONS IN CONSTRUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 12, 16 Jun 81 pp 39-42

[Article by Gong Shiqi [7895 1102 0366]]

[Text] At its 3d Plenary Session, the 11th party Central Committee resolved to shift the focus of the work of the whole party to socialist economic construction, and established the party's political line for the present stage, which takes the achievement of the four modernizations as the central task. Over the past 2 years, and in particular during this year, the vast numbers of cadres have exhibited great enthusiasm in studying economic theory. The party committees at all levels have taken the study of economic theory as the main content of theoretical studies for cadres. Some leading economic departments have organized various types of study classes and rotational training classes and have achieved marked success. This shows that the new historical era has given us a new study task. To satisfactorily carry out our modernization construction and economic readjustment, we must study hard.

As we study economic theory, we must put the study of political economics in first place. Political economics occupies a particularly important position among the three component parts of Marxism. According to Lenin, political economics is the main content of Marxism. He said: "The main point in Marxist theory is to elaborate on the global and historical role of the proletariat as the creators of the socialist society." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 437) This main point is precisely explained in political economics. To raise the standard of Marxist theory of the whole party, to completely and accurately understand the scientific theoretical system of Marxism, and to deeply understand Marxist philosophy and scientific socialism, we must concentrate our efforts on conscientiously studying political economics.

The subject of study in Marxist political economics is the production relations peculiar to the modes of production in certain societies. Marxist political economics is a science which elaborates on the laws concerning the nature and development of the production relations peculiar to certain societies. Production relations constitute the foundation of a society, on which is established the corresponding superstructure. The nature of a society is determined by the production relations which predominate in that society. Therefore, to understand the laws concerning the nature and development of a society, we must rely on political economics. Marx said: "We should look for the analysis of the urban society in political economics." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 82)

He was referring to the capitalist society. The same applies to the socialist society. Today, to build socialism, we must master the laws concerning the nature and development of the socialist economic system. This requires us to conscientiously study political economics, in particular that part of political economics dealing with socialism.

Studying political economics is an urgent need in bringing order out of chaos and eliminating the erroneous "leftist" ideology. For many years, many erroneous economic theoretical viewpoints have been the basis for implementing a series of "leftist" principles and policies. For example, in guiding economic work, we did not proceed from our country's actual conditions, the objectivity of socialist economic laws were disregarded and subjective initiative was greatly exaggerated. After the socialist transformation of the means of production was basically accomplished in 1956, the emphasis on class struggle was continuously stepped up and the focus of the party's work could not be shifted. In transforming the production relations, the level and requirements of the development of our country's productive forces were disregarded. It was thought that the purer the socialist form of economy, the better. The necessity for retaining a definite amount of individual economy was denied. It was also thought that for the collective economy, "the larger its scale and the higher the degree of public ownership, the better." Our socialist construction, marked by blind endeavors to achieve high growth rates, was divorced from the people's material and cultural needs. The scale of capital construction surpassed our country's available financial and material resources, resulting in a serious imbalance in the proportional relationships among various sectors of the national economy. According to an economic model for self-sufficiency, an economy marked by "large and complete" as well as "small and complete" units was established. The socialization of production and the development of the production of commodities were disregarded. Attempts were made to restrict or even put an end to the commodity system. In distributing daily consumer goods, absolute egalitarianism was regarded as an element of communism and obstinate attempts were made to restrict or even eliminate distribution according to work done, and so on and so forth. To overcome the influences of the erroneous "leftist" ideology, we are urgently compelled to arm ourselves with knowledge of economic laws.

Studying political economics is also urgently necessary for raising the consciousness in implementing the political line of the party laid down at the 3d Plenary Session, and for unifying the ideology of the whole party on the basis of this line. The Marxist political economics theory has been the theoretical basis on which the party Central Committee formulated the political line. To unify our thinking and action, we must in the first place master the knowledge of economic laws and unify the theoretical understanding of the whole party.

Historical experiences have proved that to accomplish its own great historical tasks and to achieve anticipated results in socialist construction, our party must be guided by Marxist-Leninist economic theory. During the democratic revolution period, our party committed right deviationist and "leftist" errors. In particular, during the second revolutionary civil war period, Wang Ming's left deviationist adventurism dominated the party for as long as 5 years. This was closely related to our party's inadequate knowledge of Marxist theory. After the Zunyi meeting, the party Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong

integrated Marxism-Leninism with the actual conditions in China, systematically analyzed the economic relations pertinent to a semicolonial, semifeudal society, and put forth the theory of new democracy. On this theoretical basis, our party formulated a series of correct lines, principles and policies, and thus ensured the great victory of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression and of the liberation war. After the founding of new China, in the light of our national conditions, our party specifically applied the Marxist-Leninist theory to the period of transition, and again achieved great success in the socialist industrialization of our country and in the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production. However, after 1957, because we lacked experience in and theoretical knowledge about building socialism, and mainly because there were grave "leftist" errors in the guiding ideology, our country's cause of socialist construction repeatedly met with serious setbacks. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," and in particular since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party Central Committee has proceeded from the actual conditions of our country, integrated the general truths of Marxism-Leninism with the specific practices of China, rectified the "leftist" errors, which have existed for many years, in our guiding ideology on the basis of conscientiously summing up historical experiences, and put forth a series of correct lines, principles and policies in order to clearly point out the direction of the road toward Chinese-style modernization. There is an urgent need for us to study Marxist economic theory so that we can deeply understand and conscientiously implement the principle of the 3d Plenary Session. We must pay attention to integrating Marxism with the actual conditions of China. We must integrate the study of Marxist political economics with the study of the series of principles and policies concerning economic construction put forth by the party Central Committee since the 3d Plenary Session. We must pay attention to integrating Marxism with the actual conditions of China.

In studying economic theory, we must first read books.

Many of our comrades have abundant work experience and good practical working abilities, but many of them lack theoretical understanding, in particular the basic understanding of theories concerning the socialist economy. Therefore, we need to conscientiously read books. When we read books, we must proceed in an orderly way and go from step to step. If we have the spirit of seeking truth and overcoming difficulties in tackling key problems, we will be able to master the basic principles of Marxist economic theory and thus acquire boundless wisdom and strength.

In the light of current practical needs, we must study volume 2 of Marx' "Das Kapital," which expounds on social reproduction. When Marx examined the reproduction and circulation of the total social capital, he also analyzed and revealed the universal substance and common laws of reproduction movements in socialized large-scale production. Socialist production is also a form of socialized large-scale production, and in this respect it is the same as capitalist production. Many basic Marxist principles concerning reproduction are applicable to socialist production. Studying the Marxist principles of reproduction can help

us to understand questions concerning socialized large-scale production, such as why its development must be planned and proportionate, why production and circulation must be unified, why supply, production and marketing must be coordinated, why expanded reproduction must be based on simple reproduction, and so on.

When we study and apply the Marxist principles of reproduction, aside from knowing the characteristic common to socialist production and capitalist production, namely, that they are both socialized large-scale production, we must also pay attention to their essential differences. For example, on the basis of the capitalist system of private ownership, the circulation and turnover of individual items of capital as well as the reproduction of social capital can be accomplished only through the capitalist market and can be regulated only spontaneously by the law of value. However, in socialism, the means of production are owned in common by the workers and the funds of the enterprises are a direct and organic component part of the total social funds. The aims of employing funds are, first, to satisfy the common needs of all members of society, and second, to realize the specific material benefits of the enterprises and individual workers. Therefore, the circulation and turnover of the funds of enterprises as well as the reproduction of social funds must be based on regulation by planning mechanism and must be accomplished on the basis of integrating regulation by planning mechanism with regulation by market mechanism.

We must conscientiously study many important expositions by Comrade Chen Yun on economic problems. Between 1956 and 1962, our country experienced a new and major historical change. During that period, the socialist transformation of the means of production had basically been completed, and the prominent question of what road our country had to take in building socialism was put before us. Because our country had achieved great success in socialist transformation, some comrades could not remain cool-headed. In 1955, impatience began to affect the guiding ideology. Persistent attempts were made to quicken the speed of the socialist transformation of the system of private ownership of the means of production as well as the speed of socialist construction. In 1956, a rash advance on a small scale occurred. In 1958, a great rash advance occurred amid an atmosphere marked by more severe criticisms of so-called right conservatism. Comrade Chen Yun's articles of this period were mostly written to analyze these two rash advances and to propose remedial measures. They were the products of rectifying erroneous "leftist" ideology.

On the basis of analyzing our country's economic situation at that time, Comrade Chen Yun provided a Marxist answer to the question of how our country should carry out socialist construction, and rather systematically elaborated on the major theoretical issues concerning our socialist economic construction. His expositions include the following areas. First, expositions on the economic structure of and forms of operation in our socialist society. He said that after the socialist transformation of the system of ownership of the means of production in our country had basically been completed, the main body in our social economic structure should be state-run and collective run units, but there should be a definite number of individual businesses as a supplement to them. Concerning production planning, the majority of industrial and agricultural products should

be produced according to plans, but a portion of the products should be freely produced according to market changes within the scope permitted by state planning. In production, centralized production and operation should be integrated with individual production and operation. In circulation, state monopoly in purchasing and marketing should be integrated with selective purchasing and marketing by individuals or individual units. In the socialist unified market, the state market should be the main body, but within certain limits there should be a free market operating under state leadership to serve as a supplement.

Second, expositions on socialist reproduction. He said that socialist economic construction should proceed from satisfying the people's material and cultural needs, and that due consideration must be given to both economic construction and the people's livelihood. The relationship between simple reproduction and expanded reproduction must be correctly handled. In distributing the national income, the relationships between livelihood and production, between production and capital construction, as well as between building new enterprises and tapping the potentials of, innovating in and transforming the existing enterprises must be satisfactorily handled. In planning for livelihood and production, we must in the first place pay attention to the needs of the peasants, who account for 80 percent of the population, as well as the development of agriculture, which is the foundation of our national economy. In particular, we must pay attention to the production of grain. Agriculture exerts powerful efforts by limiting capital construction and improvements in the people's livelihood. The scale of capital construction must be compatible with our national strength, with the production of the means of production and with the growth in the production of the means of subsistence. The basic task in national economic planning is to bring about equilibrium in the national economy, mainly equilibrium in revenue and expenditures and goods and materials. If planning work can satisfactorily handle two key areas--capital construction and the labor force--there will not be any serious problems, and so on.

Third, expositions on the socialist economic management system. He said that the unified state planning must leave some margin for local governments, factories, mines and other enterprises to exercise power in order to suit their measures to local conditions. The state and the enterprise should share among them all the profits of an enterprise. Power should be appropriately delegated to smaller units such as cooperative shops and handicrafts cooperatives, which should carry out production individually and should be operated individually. The calculation of profits or losses with the whole commune taken as the unified accounting unit should be replaced by the method whereby each cooperative group or family assumes sole responsibility for its profits or losses. The enterprises must be managed democratically, Worker representative councils should have the power to elect or propose the dismissal of factory managers.

Fourth, expositions on the methods of economic work. He said that the methods of economic work are embodied in materialist dialectics. We must in the first place proceed from reality and conduct thorough and systematic investigations. We "must not regard the reading of books or forging ahead as of primary importance, but must stress the unique importance of reality. We must spend more than 90 percent of our time on investigations and studies of practical problems, and less than 10 percent of our time on policymaking. On the basis of mastering a vast amount of information, we must use the weapon of materialist dialectics to analyze things scientifically, that is, "comprehensively, comparatively and repeatedly."

The spirit of seeking truth from facts runs through Comrade Chen Yun's articles. He proceeded from the actual conditions of China and put forth his views on socialist construction, which have been tested and proved to be correct in practice over the past 20 years and more. Now that we are vigorously bringing order out of chaos, eliminating the erroneous "leftist" ideology, and carrying out economic readjustment and reform, we more deeply feel the applicability and appropriateness of Comrade Chen Yun's expositions when we restudy them. Although the current situation differs from that of the late 1950's and early 1960's, these basic views of Comrade Chen Yun's are still of great significance in guiding our current economic work.

"A Study of the Problems of the Socialist Economy in China" by Comrade Xue Muqiao is an important theoretical work, which treats socialism as a subject of political economics. Its special feature is that it proceeds from the actual conditions of our country and provides Marxist theoretical explanations for the practical experiences and existing problems in China's socialist economic construction. This book will greatly help us when we study our country's current economic problems.

Second, we must conscientiously sum up experiences as well as study new circumstances and new problems when we study economic theory.

In our study, conscientiously summing up the experiences of our country's socialist construction is an important method of integrating theory with practice. Over the past 30 years and more, our country has achieved great success in socialist construction, but the progress has been far from smooth. There have been advances as well as retrogressions. There have been high tides as well as low ebbs in production. The experiences over the past 30 years and more are plentiful. If we conscientiously sum it up, we may rather deeply understand the economic laws concerning our country's socialist construction.

Summing up historical experiences serves current needs and helps us to study new circumstances and problems, particularly problems arising from economic readjustment and reform. Examples include the problem of the necessity of the existence of many varied economic sectors, which are integrated with the economy governed by the system of public ownership, under the condition that the socialist system of public ownership predominates; the problem of the road which our country must take to modernize agriculture and industry; and problems concerning the readjustment of socialist economic relations and the reform of the economic management system, which are currently underway in our country. Guided by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, we must proceed from reality and make thorough investigations on as well as carefully study and discuss these problems. Only thus will our subjective understanding become more compatible with objective reality.

Third, we must eliminate the influence of the erroneous "leftist" ideology when we study economic theory.

Since the founding of the People's Republic, the main errors in economic construction have been "leftist" errors. After 1958, "leftist" errors in economic construction became more serious. They have caused huge losses to our cause

of socialist construction. We have been influenced by the erroneous "leftist" ideology to various degrees. Therefore, in our study we must eliminate the influence of such an erroneous ideology in the light of reality. During the democratic revolution period and after the Zunyi meeting of 1935, in particular after the thorough rectification of Wang Ming's "leftist" errors through the Yanan rectification movement, the revolution developed unexpectedly rapidly. Nowadays, if we rectify the "leftist" errors and vigorously do a good job in carrying out the current economic readjustment and reform, a very fine new economic situation is surely in store for us.

In this new historical period, our party shoulders very heavy responsibilities. Therefore, we must very vigorously strengthen our theoretical work. However, our current theoretical study is still very weak; it is far from able to satisfy the requirements of the new situation and new tasks. We must create a habit in the whole party and in the whole country of conscientiously studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. In the light of the actual conditions of our country's modernization construction, we must sum up historical experiences and rectify left deviationist errors. In the light of the actual conditions of economic theory. In building socialism, if the vast numbers of our cadres are armed with Marxism, then we will more far-sightedly display greater initiative, will be able to overcome all difficulties and will advance bravely!

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